Introduction

Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton

Most of the contributors to this book would not describe themselves as liturgists. Few have had any training in using liturgical sources or have had their doctoral theses supervised by scholars whose primary interest was in liturgy. But between us, we have spent many decades working with such sources, exploring their potential as evidence for medieval history, and dealing with the problems involved in using them. In recent years there has been a revival of interest in medieval rituals but, despite this flourishing activity, medieval liturgy is rarely taught in universities. This book is a response to these circumstances.

Aims

The main focus of the book is on so-called 'occasional rites' which were actually anything but occasional. This term refers to all those rituals other than the mass and office, such as rites of passage like baptism and burial, the ceremonies associated with major feasts including Candlemas and Palm Sunday, consecration of people and things, for example priests and churches, and legal actions like ordeal and excommunication. However, there is no firm distinction to be made: occasional rites frequently included masses, or took place during a mass or office. Some authors included here primarily work on the mass or office, and many ideas in this book are relevant to all types of medieval Christian ritual. There are several reasons, though, why we have focused on such rites. In part it is because they have received rather less attention than the mass and the office.[1] But it is also because occasional rites are so informative about many different aspects of life in the Middle Ages. And finally there has been much recent work on them that challenges many established ideas, especially about the extent to which rites differed from place

[1] For example, the following works focus on the mass and office: Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979; originally published as *Kleine abendländische Liturgiegeschichte*, 5th edn., 1969, trans. by John Halliburton); Pierre-Marie Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris: Cerf, 1990); John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Pfaff, *Liturgy*; Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *Hear My Voice, O God: Functional Dimensions of Christian Worship* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2014).

to place and over time, and how the surviving evidence should be interpreted. Modern scholarship has witnessed a shift away from a search for origins in the early Church and a focus on teleological accounts of development, to a renewed emphasis on the diversity of the liturgical record, yet these ideas, and their implications, have not previously been fully articulated in print.

One of the book's primary purposes is to provide guidance to those who are new to the subject, want to know more about it, or wish to conduct research on liturgical topics. These specially commissioned essays offer advice in several different ways. The three contributions to Part I explicitly discuss the practicalities of undertaking research: In Chapter 1 Helen Gittos considers some of the problems and possibilities of working on rites; in Chapter 2 Frederick Paxton illustrates some of these issues by means of an autobiographical case study of his own work on rites for the dying and William Flynn explores current approaches by musicologists in Chapter 3. The two studies in Part II explore the problems caused by uncritical reliance on modern editions of medieval liturgical texts and how to avoid them. Henry Parkes in Chapter 4 examines the presumptions of, and methods used by, Michel Andrieu, Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze to construct their edition of the so-called Romano-German Pontifical, and shows how unrepresentative that edition is of the manuscript record. In Chapter 5 Matthew Cheung Salisbury explains how the debates of nineteenth-century Anglicanism shaped the editions of the late medieval Uses of York and Sarum which are still used today. The three essays in Part III each focus on a different ritual. They provide examples of the range of evidence available for occasional rites, the approaches that can be taken, and the kinds of questions such evidence can help address. Sarah Hamilton explores some of the earliest eleventh-century examples of episcopal excommunication in Chapter 6, and Florence Chave-Mahir sets out the twelfth-century hagiographical as well as liturgical evidence for exorcism in Chapter 7. Mette Birkedal Brunn and Louis Hamilton in Chapter 8 approach the rite for church dedication from the different perspectives of sermons and liturgical rites and show how taking into account a range of sources enriches our understanding of the meaning and experience of this rite. These three case studies also illustrate one of the key themes of all recent work on the field: the extent of diversity one finds in the sources. The two contributions to Part IV are concerned with how the surviving sources relate to the way liturgy was actually practised. In Chapter 9, Carolyn Marino Malone demonstrates the value of reading the liturgical evidence of monastic customaries alongside the surviving architectural record, through case studies of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon and Wells Cathedral, whilst Carol Symes in Chapter 10 addresses problems of interpretation that frequently surface in other chapters as well from the point of view of a specialist in drama.

All the contributions refer to key resources and the aim has been to show the ways in which they may be used, their strengths and weaknesses, rather than to provide a comprehensive bibliography.[2] In order to convey the range of approaches that can be adopted and types of questions asked by people working in different disciplines, we solicited contributions from scholars with various disciplinary backgrounds: history, theology, musicology, architectural history, drama and English literature. One of the themes of this collection is that in this field it is vital to draw on as wide a range of sources as one can, even if reconciling them can be tricky. So, William Flynn emphasizes what is to be gained by cross-disciplinary collaboration, whilst Florence Chave-Mahir, Mette Birkedal Brunn and Louis Hamilton explore such an approach by examining the types of information that can be sought from different sources for the same ritual. These last three authors, alongside Carolyn Marino Malone and Carol Symes, concentrate on sources of evidence that are not often central to liturgical study, including saints' lives, sermons and church architecture. We hope that this mixture of practical guidance, case studies and bibliographical orientation will be both helpful and stimulating.

We also hope that this book will be of value to those who know a great deal about the subject as well as to beginners. In this regard we have three main aims. One is to articulate more clearly than has been done before some of the major recent changes in the ways that liturgical sources are being interpreted. Another is to invigorate the subject by encouraging greater co-operation between traditional scholarly communities. There are enduring divisions between people working on medieval liturgy which are chronological, geographical and disciplinary. We hope to demonstrate the value of greater communication by showing that a number of common concerns cross-over these groupings. The third aim is to address the historiographical legacy that we have inherited. This is a particular focus in Chapter 3 where William Flynn considers the musicological historiography and Chapters 4 and 5 in which Henry Parkes and Matthew Cheung Salisbury draw attention to the problematic nature of some of the editions of texts that have been considered landmarks in medieval liturgical history. In short, we hope this will be a helpful and provocative book.

Having set out what this book aims to be, it is worth explaining what it is not. This is not intended to serve as a replacement for existing accounts of the development of medieval liturgy. Nor is it intended as a critique of all previous

[2] For bibliographies see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*; Richard W. Pfaff, *Medieval Latin Liturgy: A Select Bibliography*, Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 9 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Angelus A. Häussling, Martin Klöckener and Burkhard Neunheuser, 'Der Gottesdienst der Kirche: Texte, Quellen, Studien', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 42 (2000): 106–202; 43/44 (2001–02): 97–221; Paul F. Bradshaw, ed., *The New SCM Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (London: SCM Press, 2002); F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

scholarship: an enormous amount of scholarly effort has been invested in the edition of liturgical texts, and in investigating the relationships between particular manuscripts; work which, whatever the problems identified below and in the chapters in this collection, remains absolutely fundamental to current and future research. Nor has it been our aim to write a detailed account of the development of occasional rites. Instead our hope is that the ideas presented here, by providing various perspectives on these materials, will help stimulate future research. What follows is intended as a brief introduction to some issues that those interested in occasional rites should be aware of.

Being Aware of the Scholastic Inheritance

Modern historians of medieval liturgy are heirs to a considerable historiographical inheritance which continues to shape the field in profound ways. Even the word 'liturgy' itself is an early modern construct. Medieval churchmen never used *liturgia*, and its related adjectives, to describe the prayers and rites which structured both private and communal worship. The word only began to be used in this way in the mid-sixteenth century at a time when there was considerable debate about religious ceremonial.[3] In the Middle Ages, it was more common either to refer to specific types of texts – prayers, chants, *ordines* – or types of books – such as sacramentaries, antiphonaries, pontificals and rituals.[4] When a collective noun was used it tended to be *officia* (offices).[5] The modern use of 'liturgy' to apply to a more or less wide range of medieval ceremonies is therefore

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3 Symes, Chapter 10 below, 239–40; Christopher A. Jones, 'Performing Christianity: Liturgical and Devotional Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 427–50, at 428. On the relative rarity of the term before the twentieth century see Simon Ditchfield, 'Giving Tridentine Worship Back Its History', in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship,* ed. R.N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 35 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 199–226, at 203–204. See also the discussion of the significance of Reformation polemic about religious ceremony in Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 164–202.

4 *Ordo* (plural *ordines*) is generally used to refer to texts with directions for performance of particular religious services; *sacramentary* is a service book containing all the prayers needed to celebrate mass on each day of the year, often together with *ordines* for pastoral rites (such as baptism, penance, funerals), blessings and other texts; *antiphonary* or antiphonal contains a collection of antiphons; *pontifical* contains those rites that could only be celebrated by a bishop (such as confirmation, clerical ordination, church dedication); *ritual* or *rituale* (or *manual*) contains rubrics and texts for celebrating rites performed by a priest. For an introduction to liturgical books see Palazzo, *History*.

5 Jones, 'Performing Christianity', 428.

anachronistic. All the contributors to this volume have self-consciously used 'liturgy' in its modern sense. However, it is fair to say that there are disagreements about what should be considered as liturgy and the whole topic of how church rituals were classified in the Middle Ages merits further investigation.[6]

The debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries among and between Roman Catholics and Protestants did not just provide us with a specious vocabulary. They also shaped the study of what we now know as medieval liturgy in terms of modern scholars' chronological and geographical emphases, the questions they ask, and materials they study. These battles were largely fought over the mass and, to a lesser extent, the round of daily prayer known as the office. The Protestants' quest for authenticity led them to become interested in the history of the practices of the early Church before (as they saw it) the liturgy had been corrupted by Rome. And the Catholics sought validity for their ceremonies by trying to demonstrate continuity with apostolic practices and across Christian history.[7] The search for authority has left its mark in present-day scholarship, especially in the English-language history of pastoral rites such as baptism where attention has largely focused on Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[8]

It was, however, late medieval liturgy which shaped the rituals of both sides in the early modern period. In England many of the medieval rites characterized as Sarum were adapted into the Book of Common Prayer (1549).[9] The service books which emerged in the wake of the Council of Trent (1545–63) and which were promoted universally throughout Catholic Europe, also had their origins in the late medieval Church; the Roman Pontifical approved by Pope Clement VIII in 1595 is based, essentially, on the late thirteenth-century compilation

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6 For problems of definition see below, Chapters 1, pp. 30–32; 6, pp. 157–58; and 10, pp. 239–41.

7 Interpretations of medieval liturgy are inevitably caught up in wider understanding of Christian history; for an overview see Anthony Grafton, 'Church History in Early Modern Europe: Tradition and Innovation', in *Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World* ed. Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1–26; the other contributions to this volume are also relevant. An example of the Reformers' interest in the origins of liturgical uses can be found in q. 5 of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's questionnaire sent to other bishops in 1547, cited by Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd edn. (London: A. and C. Black, 1945), 640–42.

8 E.C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 3rd edn., Alcuin Club Collections 79 (London: SPCK, 2003); Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). On early Church liturgy see Paul F. Bradshaw, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2009).

9 Salisbury, *Hear My Voice*, 65.

of William Durandus (1293–95).[10] The use made of late medieval liturgy was balanced, though, by a renewed emphasis on the regional: local churches looked to validate their past, be it in Italy through local saints' cults, or in England where there was a special interest in the Anglo-Saxon Church as exemplifying an indigenous form of Christianity untouched by the perceived corruption of the later medieval Church.[11] In the sixteenth-century Reformation, there was, then, keen interest in the Late Antique and early medieval Churches and much use made of later medieval rites but perhaps rather less concern for the liturgy of the period in between; that is, of the central Middle Ages.

These tendencies to focus on the earlier and later periods were exacerbated by developments in the nineteenth century. The Liturgical Movement, which was initially Roman Catholic, sought to counteract the trend towards clerically dominated public rites and bring the laity back into active participation, especially through chanting responses in the mass.[12] They looked back to a time before the divisions of the Reformation, viewing the Middle Ages as a period of great lay piety, manifest in church building, and wanted to revive the chants of the period. At the same time, they, like their Tridentine predecessors, sought authority and authenticity in the study of rites from earlier periods. The focus, perhaps inevitably, was on chants for the mass and office. This emphasis helped reinforce the view that the late medieval Church had excluded the laity from active involvement in the liturgy, and that vernacular languages were not widely used in liturgical contexts.[13] In the Church of England, the proponents of the

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10 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 255–56.

11 Ditchfield, 'Giving Tridentine Worship Back its History'; Simon Ditchfield, *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Vivienne Sanders, 'The Household of Archbishop Parker and the Influencing of Public Opinion', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, no. 4 (1983): 534–47; Angelika Lutz, 'The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the Seventeenth Century and the Establishment of Old English Studies in the Universities', in *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Timothy Graham (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2000), 1–82, esp. 1–2 and n. 2.

12 'Liturgical Movement', in *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. Cross and Livingstone, 987–88; Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

13 For example, Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971). For a corrective to views about the exclusion of the laity see Virginia Reinburg, 'Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 3 (1992): 526–47; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 91–130. On the use of vernacular languages in the English liturgy see Helen Gittos, 'The Use of English in the Liturgy in the Middle Ages: A Case-Study from York' (working title, forthcoming); and Bruce Holsinger, *The Work of God: Liturgical*

emerging High Church movement sought to emphasize their Church's descent from the universal Church, and the continuities between its practices and those of the late medieval period: this led to the interest in the late medieval Uses of Sarum and York traced by Matthew Cheung Salisbury in Chapter 5. It is also manifest in the foundation of the Cambridge Camden Society (which later became the Ecclesiological Society) in 1839 and the Henry Bradshaw Society 'for the editing of rare liturgical texts' in 1890. These nineteenth-century concerns helped shape the development of much scholarly work and the creation of editions upon which, whatever their shortcomings, modern researchers still rely.

The confessionalization of scholarship on medieval liturgy has had other legacies too. Until the mid-twentieth century, research on liturgy was largely the domain of professional religious, belonging to both the Catholic and Protestant traditions. In England, for example, with certain notable exceptions such as the Catholic layman Edmund Bishop, this was the case until well after the Second World War.[14] But it is also worth recognizing the contribution made by art historians who, in England at least, helped in the twentieth century lead the turn away from such confessional approaches, for those interested in manuscript art have long recognized the need to understand the liturgical material. Art historians have, however, largely, but not wholly, focused on the evidence for saints' feasts recorded in calendars and litanies, seeking to attribute manuscripts and to trace relationships between different houses.[15] They have been much less interested in occasional rites.

Culture and Vernacular Writing in Britain, 550–1550 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).

[14] Many of the most influential works on medieval liturgy in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries are the work of churchmen, including Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter Iter italicum* (Freiburg: Herder, 1896); Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. edn. (Vienna: Herder, 1949), trans. Francis A. Brunner as *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1951–55); Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*; *OR*; *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, ed. Michel Andrieu, 4 vols., Studi e Testi 86–89 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938–41); Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*. For Edmund Bishop see his posthumously published papers, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918).

[15] Key figures in English medieval liturgical manuscript studies include Francis Wormald (see for example his *English Benedictine Kalendars before AD 1100*, HBS 72 (London: HBS, 1934)); Christopher Hohler, for whom there is a partial bibliography in Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale, eds., *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology Presented to Christopher Hohler* British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 111 (Oxford, 1981), 1–6; Derek Turner, for whom there is a bibliography in Janet Backhouse and Shelley Jones, 'D.H. Turner (1931–1985): A Portrait', *The British Library Journal* 13, no. 2 (1987): 111–17; and Nigel J. Morgan (see for example his *English Monastic Litanies of the Saints after 1100*, 2 vols., HBS 119–20 (London: HBS, 2012–13)). See also Eric Palazzo, 'Art and Liturgy in the Middle

Much of the work in the last fifty years has continued along the chronological lines set down by early modern and nineteenth-century churchmen and this helps to explain the relative neglect of the central Middle Ages, and of occasional rites, in the prevailing narratives of liturgical history. Thus accounts tend to focus on either the earlier or the later Middle Ages, and particularly on the early Church and the Carolingian reforms, or the years after the Fourth Lateran Council.[16]

The essays in this book address this legacy in several ways. First, many are concerned with evidence from the tenth to twelfth centuries; this is, in part, to challenge traditional ideas that the foundations of Christian liturgy were laid in the early Church and flourished in the High Middle Ages. Second, we have included some explicit discussion of historiographical topics, especially in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. Given the extent to which past debates continue to shape modern research it is vital to understand the framework within which current narratives have developed. Third, our focus on occasional rites is also intended to address another example of how early modern concerns have skewed contemporary debate. Occasional offices have always received less attention and one reason for this is that the debates of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were focused principally on the mass and the office, as these were seen as the most theologically contentious areas. Fourth, all the chapters address one of the most potent legacies of earlier scholarship. This is a series of teleological narratives about how rites developed during the Middle Ages which traces the origins of later collections back to earlier texts, and gives seminal importance to particular works, such as the 'Romano-German Pontifical', and periods, such as the Carolingian Reformation.[17] The attraction of such stories is that they simplify the complexity of the evidence. But, as the contributions to this volume make clear, they are also deeply problematic because they do not take account of the very diverse nature of the rites themselves. It is therefore vital to reassess the nature and influence of traditional landmarks in liturgical history.

Ages: Survey of Research (1980–2003) and Some Reflections on Method', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105, no. 1 (2006): 170–84.

16 For example, Palazzo's *History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* focuses mainly on the years pre-1000; John Harper's *Forms and Orders*, whilst it begins in the tenth century, focuses its attention on the later Middle Ages; Richard Pfaff's study, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, devotes some seventy pages to the Anglo-Saxon period, one hundred pages to the years 1066–1215, and some 350 pages to the years after 1215; Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) has a similarly later focus.

17 For example, see the efforts to construct a genealogy for the evolution of liturgical traditions in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 399, 403 (Tables A and E).

Challenges

This brief discussion conveys something of the extent to which modern research into medieval liturgy continues to be shaped by early modern and nineteenth-century preoccupations. How can we break away from them? In these studies, and the discussions that helped shape them, several potentially fruitful approaches have emerged. One is that it is essential to recognize and find ways of working with the diversity of the evidence, be it for individual rites, as with excommunication, exorcism or church dedication, or collections of rites, such as those now known as the Romano-German Pontifical. It is also useful to pay attention to the contexts in which individual rites were recorded. For example, it is instructive to ask: Why was this rite written down?[18] There is much that can be learnt here from the approaches taken by relevant research in musicology and drama.[19] Other ways in which to contextualize rites include trying to answer questions like: How were these texts read? What was the audience for a particular manuscript? Why were some rites viewed as core to most collections, whilst others, such as those for exorcism and excommunication, seem to have been more peripheral?[20] In asking these questions, scholars need to be mindful, as Carol Symes points out in Chapter 10, that medieval manuscripts of liturgical rites were rarely, if ever, intended simply as a prescription for how the service should be conducted, as with some modern service books. By focusing on the local and the particular scholars may identify fresh ways in which to interpret, and understand, medieval rites. One example of this is Sarah Hamilton's comparison of excommunication rites in Chapter 6 which helps explain how and why the collections in which they appear were compiled. It is also helpful to make use of other types of evidence in addition to the rites themselves. Considering other genres and media alongside liturgical texts can be very revealing, as Florence Chave-Mahir, Mette Birkedal Bruun, Louis Hamilton and Carolyn Marino Malone demonstrate in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

We hope these essays convey something of the excitement of current work in the field, the potential value of the evidence, and some directions for future research. Liturgy should not be a marginal subject, of interest only to those who

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18 For an example of this approach, see S. Hamilton, Chapter 6 in this book.

19 See, for example, Susan Rankin, 'From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984): 97–112; Carol Symes, 'The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater', *Speculum* 77 (2002): 778–831; eadem, 'The Medieval Archive and the History of Theater: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance', *Theatre Survey* 52, no. 1 (2011): 29–58.

20 Hamilton, Chapter 6 and Chave-Mahir, Chapter 7 below.

study the lives of medieval professional religious.[21] Occasional rites, in particular, were often directed towards, and involved, the laity as well as the clergy. And the liturgy was not nearly as static as often supposed: it was continually adapted to meet new circumstances. Investigating how and why this was offers not only new ways of understanding medieval liturgical evidence, but also of improving our understanding of the Middle Ages.

[21] Unfortunately Arnold Angenendt's pioneering work in this respect is yet to be fully taken up by English-language scholarship: see his *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997) and his *Liturgik und Historik. Gab es eine organische Liturgie-Entwicklung?* (Freiburg: Herder, 2001). Other examples of recent books that attempt to integrate liturgy and social history include Eric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Age* (Paris: Aubier, 2000) and Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200* (Harlow: Pearson, 2013).

Chapter 1
Researching the History of Rites

Helen Gittos

Preliminaries

Thousands of medieval manuscripts containing materials for use in so-called 'occasional' rites such as baptism, burial and Palm Sunday survive from Western Europe.[1] Yet their value as historical sources has hardly begun to be realized. There are two main reasons for this. The first is the enduring perception that the medieval liturgy was conservative – traditional, slow to change, and therefore not very useful for historians to study. Here, for example, is the end of an essay by John Blair about baptismal fonts in Anglo-Saxon England:

> Encouraged by the materials that they study, liturgists tend to lay great stress on uniformity. From a liturgist's perspective this paper is rather iconoclastic, proposing as it does a high degree of diversity and informality in English local practice during the ninth to eleventh centuries.[2]

Although some previous generations of liturgists did emphasize uniformity, Blair's statement could not be less true of current work in the field. The diversity in early medieval baptismal rites that he proposes on the basis of the archaeological evidence is precisely what one finds in the liturgical sources. Susan Keefe, in her

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[1] For example, more than 450 manuscripts are listed in Thomas Davies Kozachek, 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, and Ritual' (unpub. Harvard University DPhil thesis, 1995), 382–91; and Richard Kay, *Pontificalia: A Repertory of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals* (Lawrence, KA: published online by Digital Publishing Services, University of Kansas Libraries, at http://hdl.handle.net/1808/4406, 2007) lists 1249 pontificals and benedictionals. For the term 'occasional rites' see p. 1 above.

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[2] John Blair, 'The Prehistory of English Fonts', in *Intersections: The Archaeology and History of Christianity in England, 400–1200: Papers in Honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle*, ed. Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsay, British Archaeological Reports, British Series 505 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 149–177, at 177.

work on baptism in the Carolingian Empire repeatedly stresses this: 'one can truly be amazed at the amount of liturgical diversity'; 'diversity ... characterized public worship'.[3] It is the degree to which medieval liturgy was diverse, informal, and frequently revised and rewritten that makes it so valuable as historical evidence.

The second reason why liturgical sources are undervalued is that they are perceived as being difficult to use:

> Liturgical history is pure scholarship: painstakingly detailed, extremely technical, highly esoteric ... Its practitioners, like the initiates of an ancient mystery cult, pour the fruits of their researches into learned journals with splendidly arcane titles like *Ephemerides Liturgicae* and *Sacris Erudiri*. It is hard for a mere layman to penetrate these mysteries ....[4]

In fact liturgical sources present only the same kinds of problems as other types of medieval texts such as charters, writs or law codes. Just as with other sources, in order to be able to use liturgical manuscripts one needs to familiarize oneself with the conventions of the genre but they are far from being impenetrable and arcane. In this chapter I will discuss the potential of liturgical rites as sources, some practical ways in which one can work with this material, some problems that are likely to be encountered, and some possible directions for future research. My focus is on how one can go about doing such work rather than providing a survey of the historiography.

Potential: What are Rites Evidence For?

Medieval liturgical sources for rites such as Palm Sunday, baptism and penance are of immense value for many reasons. One of these has already been mentioned: these rituals were repeatedly revised and never standardized – it is rare to find

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3 Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 1:137 (this whole volume is relevant but see especially 42, 67, 131–37, 152). For further discussion about liturgical diversity see the papers by Hen, McKitterick and Cubitt in R.N. Swanson, ed., *Unity and Diversity in the Church: Papers Read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History 32 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); and Richard E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 64, no. 2 (1989): 267–306, esp. 293–94, 295.

4 Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 119. This quotation was drawn to my attention by John F. Romano's *MedievalLiturgy.com* website: http://medievalliturgy.com/introduction_bibliography.html.

any version of a ritual that is identical to any other. One of the recurring features of manuscript-based studies of such rites is that their authors remark on the comparative diversity of whatever ritual they are considering. Susan Keefe's previously cited characterization of baptismal rites in the Carolingian period is particularly emphatic but essentially typical; similar statements have been made about the diversity of Anglo-Saxon rites for blessing holy oils, liturgies for excommunication and the consecration of churches from the central Middle Ages, blessings of pilgrims and crusaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and rites for public penance in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France.[5] Contemporaries were aware of this. Walahfrid Strabo, abbot of Reichenau (Germany), writing in c. 840–42 discusses at length the 'great diversity in the liturgy' in his own time and mentions the different versions of the psalms used, and the many variations in baptismal practices. He was tolerant of these differences and, for example, willing to accept the validity of triple or single immersion or effusion.[6] He was aware that much of the liturgical material available in his day had been written only recently and was content that 'new compositions ... are not to be rejected' so long as they were doctrinally orthodox.[7] Later on, in the eleventh century, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070–89), was involved in various disagreements with John, archbishop of Rouen, about vestments. In a surviving letter he draws on his own experience: 'I have often watched various bishops of different provinces dedicating churches, and I have observed most

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5 Christopher A. Jones, 'The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, HBS Subsidia 5 (London: HBS, 2005), 105–42, esp. 130; Christopher A. Jones, 'The Origins of the "Sarum" Chrism Mass at Eleventh-Century Christ Church, Canterbury', *Mediaeval Studies* 67 (2005): 219–315, esp. 231–32; Chapters 6 and 8 below; M.C. Gaposchkin, 'Origins and Development of the Pilgrimage and Cross Blessings in the Roman Pontificals of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Mediaeval Studies* 73 (2011): 261–86, esp. 262; Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), esp. 16, 161, 189–90. Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd. edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), esp. 191, emphasizes the diversity of liturgical practice in the early Church up to the fourth century. For the Carolingian period see also F.S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), esp. ch. 5 and 207–9.

6 Alice L. Harting-Corrêa, *Walahfrid Strabo's* Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*: A Translation and Liturgical Commentary*, Mittellateinische Studien Und Texte 19 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 1 (for the date), 162–63 (for the quote 'tanta ... in ipsis diversitas officiis'), 168–81 (psalms and baptism).

7 '... noviter componi, quae non sint, ... abicienda', in ibid., 160–61, and see 136–37, 172–73.

scrupulously all that they did. In some respects their practice differed'.[8] In relation to a detail in the rite for ordaining a subdeacon, he talks about the different rubrics found in 'our own books of episcopal *ordines*, of which we have many from different parts of the world'.[9] This letter is fascinating because it provides evidence for an interest in liturgical minutiae, the importance of witnessed precedents ('I was present when St Leo himself, supreme bishop of the Roman see, dedicated the church of Remiremont ...'), and for the academic study of liturgical books.[10] Even in the late Middle Ages, diversity had not disappeared: a late fifteenth-century scribe somewhat exasperatedly introduced the rite for dedicating a church in a manuscript from Besançon by saying: 'Concerning the dedication or consecration of churches there is so much variety among various rites, that not only do they not agree in many things, but they can even contradict one another'.[11] It is not yet clear when liturgies became more stable because less work has been done on the rites of the later Middle Ages than those of earlier periods. However, it has been suggested that this only happened once texts intended to be authoritative and official began to be printed by Pope Pius V in the 1560s.[12]

The extent of diversity is such that where one does, occasionally, find evidence for a group of texts that are substantially similar, this is notable.[13] The

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8 'Diuersos enim diuersarum prouinciarum praesules aecclesias dedicare sepe conspexi, omnibusque quae ab eis acta sunt quantam potui curam adhibui. Qui etsi in nonnullis dissimilia egerunt'; Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, eds., *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 84–85.

9 'In nostris episcopalis ordinis codicibus, quos ex diuersis regionibus multos habemus'; ibid., 86–87 (translation adapted).

10 'Denique sanctus Leo Romanae sedis summus antistes Romericensem me praesente aecclesiam dedicauit'; ibid., 84–85.

11 'Circa dedicacionem sive consecracionem ecclesiarum apud varios est varietas tanta, ut non solum in multis non conveniant, sed eciam sibi contradicunt'; Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Mss 115-116-117, fol. 90, transcribed in Leroquais, *Pontificaux*, 1: 77, and translated and discussed in Kozachek, 'Repertory', 1–2, and see also Louis Hamilton, this book, 178–79. Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:128, for earlier, ninth-century, evidence that bishops were aware of liturgical diversity.

12 John F. Romano, 'Joy in Waiting?: The History of Gaudete Sunday', *Mediaeval Studies* 72 (2010): 75–124, at 107–8; Natalia Nowakowska, 'From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century', *Past and Present* 213 (2011): 3–39; Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), introduction.

13 Some rites seem to have become 'petrified', apparently through disuse: Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 160–61, 245–46. Sometimes when one finds identical *ordines* in several manuscripts it is because the rite is brand new; see for example Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 113–15 (a ceremony for Candlemas). In some cases rites which have been considered to be 'rather static'

eleventh-century customaries associated with the monastery of Cluny (France) are one example and are discussed in Chapter 9. In this case it appears that their homogeneity reflects the authority that Cluny had. Sometimes Cluniac monks used a written customary as part of the process of reforming another monastery.[14] More often, though, the Cluniac customaries were not used as practical documents to guide daily life but as 'inspirational texts' which 'offered their readers the opportunity to learn about admirable monastic lives'.[15] These customaries sometimes offered models of how to live a good life rather than rules for how to do so. Most of the time, though, medieval rites were 'living' texts that were regularly tinkered with and therefore provide evidence for current ideas and concerns.[16]

The extent of diversity results from many different causes. Sometimes one can uncover the precise historical contexts in which these changes were made. It is clear, for example, that rites were repeatedly revised by liturgists at Canterbury Cathedral throughout the later tenth and eleventh centuries, and enough manuscripts survive that one can see in some detail the successive changes that were made.[17] In some cases these can be associated with particular individuals, such as Archbishop Dunstan's (959–88) interest in the Candlemas ceremony, or the changes to the Palm Sunday service made by Lanfranc (1070–89).[18] In other cases they can be related to particular circumstances, such as the monasticization of the cathedral, or the desire to control the proliferation of newly constructed local churches.[19] Many other examples could be cited. We have, for example,

actually were not as S. Hamilton argues in the case of excommunication rites (Chapter 6, this quote on 134).

14 Isabelle Cochelin, 'Customaries as Inspirational Sources', in *Consuetudines et regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines, Disciplina monastica 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 27–72, at 27–28 and n. 5. I am grateful to Carolyn Marino Malone for this reference.

15 Ibid., 32.

16 This metaphor has frequently been deployed: see, for example, Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:154; Bradshaw, *Origins of Christian Worship*, 5; Jones, 'Chrism Mass', esp. 130–38; Sharon L. McMillan, *Episcopal Ordination and Ecclesial Consensus* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 3; Parkes, this book, 77 below.

17 Jones, 'Chrism Mass'; Jones, 'Origins'; Gittos, *Liturgy*, 45–50, 113–21, 124–28, 220–30; Helen Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral in the Central Middle Ages', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2013), 41–58.

18 Gittos, *Liturgy*, 113–15; Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral', 47–48. For another example of a rite written by an identifiable person see Paxton, this book, 47.

19 Monasticization: *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl. Ms. 2892)*, ed. R.M. Woolley, HBS 51 (London: HBS, 1917), produced in the second quarter of the eleventh century, is an intriguing manuscript which deserves further study. Its compiler revised several rites to make them accord better with the directions in the *Regularis concordia*. Both complete

evidence for the rite written by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (845–82), for the coronation of Charles the Bald as king of Lotharingia in 869.[20] We can read the new liturgies created by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin for the saints of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury in preparation for their move into the rebuilt church at the end of the eleventh century.[21] One can trace the creation of new rites for consecrating cemeteries in the tenth century as bishops tried to control popular enthusiasm, or for blessing crusaders in the twelfth century, or the revival of interest in celebrating Gaudete Sunday as part of an attempt by Pope Innocent II (1130–43) to establish himself in Rome.[22] When it is possible to identify the circumstances in which particular rites were created their value as evidence increases substantially.

This is especially true when texts and the manuscripts in which they are found can be associated with particular people. Although liturgical books were usually compiled anonymously, they were often personal books, commissioned by particular individuals for their own use, even if these persons are not named. Amongst the best sources for occasional rites are pontificals and manuals, books containing rites to be conducted by bishops and priests respectively. There is evidence that these were often treated as personal books and sometimes subsequently preserved as memorials of the people for whom they were made. We seem to have the pontificals made for Dunstan and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury (959–88 and 1093–1109), Hugues de Salins, archbishop of Besançon (1031–66), Gundekar, bishop of Eichstätt (1057–75), David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews (1240–53), and the benedictional (a book containing episcopal blessings for use in the mass) of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (963–84) amongst many others.[23] Sometimes there may be good

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surviving copies of the *Regularis concordia* were made in Canterbury in the mid-eleventh century so it seems likely that the interest in the text at that time was associated with a reform of the community to make it a totally Benedictine house. On the difficulty of telling precisely when this happened see Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (London: Leicester University Press, 1984), 255–60. This is a topic I hope to examine in more detail in future. Control of local churches: Jones, 'Chrism Mass', esp. 130–38; Helen Gittos, 'Introduction', in *Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Gittos and Bedingfield (London: 2005), 1–11, at 9–10.

20 Jinty Nelson, 'Coronation Rituals and Related Materials', in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (London: Routledge, 2012), 114–30, at 117–21.

21 Richard Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth: Hagiography and Liturgy in Context', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 41, no. 2 (1990): 502–16.

22 Gittos, *Liturgy*, 39–54; Gaposchkin, 'Pilgrimage and Cross Blessings'; Romano, 'Gaudete Sunday', 90–102, 120–21.

23 Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral'; Sarah Hamilton, 'The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective', in *England*

reason to think the commissioners of these books were the deans and precentors who were really in charge of the liturgy, rather than often-absent figureheads, but even so they remain useful evidence for the state of the liturgy in those cathedrals at that time, perhaps for the process of negotiation undertaken with an incoming incumbent: a book may have been produced by a cathedral to try to persuade a new bishop that these were the local customs he should follow.[24] Although we rarely know the names of the priests for whom manuals were written, the surviving manuscripts, which tend to be small, workaday books, are precious evidence for the decisions of their owners, and historians are increasingly paying attention to them. We have, for example, the liturgical manuscripts of a priest ministering in south-eastern Gaul probably in the late seventh century, another belonging to someone working near Liège, Belgium c. 800, and a third from a priest associated with Sherborne Cathedral, Dorset c. 1060; there are many more that deserve study.[25] Even when they are anonymous, it is possible to recover a great deal of information about the authors and compilers of specific liturgies and particular manuscripts.

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and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947), ed. David Rollason, Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 37 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 411–28; *Pontificale ecclesiæ S. Andreæ: The Pontifical Offices Used by David de Bernham, Bishop of S. Andrews*, ed. C. Wordsworth (Edinburgh: Pitsligo Press, 1885).

[24] For the last point see Hamilton, 'Early Pontificals', 427–28.

[25] Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens, eds., *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. editors' conclusion 219–22; Yitzhak Hen, 'A Liturgical Handbook for the Use of a Rural Priest (Brussels, Br 10127–10144)', in *Organising the Written Word: Scripts, Manuscripts, and Texts*, ed. Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming); Yitzhak Hen, 'Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from around 800', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 50, no. 1 (1999): 117–34; Christopher Hohler, 'The Red Book of Darley', in *Nordiskt Kollokvium II: I Latinsk Liturgiforskning 12–13 Maj 1972, Hässelby Slott* (Stockholm: Institutionen för Klassiska Språk vid Stockholms Universitet [1972]): 39–47; Helen Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 63–83. See also Frederick S. Paxton, '*Bonus Liber*: A Late Carolingian Clerical Manual from Lorsch (Bibliotheca Vaticana Ms Pal. lat. 485)', in *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History Dedicated to Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A. J. Tibbetts, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 1 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 1–30; Carine van Rhijn, 'The Local Church, Priests' Handbooks and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Period', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 61, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo, 2014), 2: 689–710; Yitzhak Hen, 'Priests and Books in the Merovingian Period', in *Early Medieval Priests*, ed. Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens (Hilversum: Verloren, forthcoming).

Sometimes one can use rites to make inferences about the decisions taken by individuals but more often they enable one to examine changes in political, theological or social ideas. This is partly because rites tended to be created and altered by making use of material that already existed:

> One of the advantages for the historian in studying any ritual is the potential it can offer for observing processes within a defined matrix, rather than simply apprehending a single event or series of events caught in a particular moment … ritual provides a structural framework in which … relationships … can be understood over a long period.[26]

The existence of diversity within common forms means such sources are ideal for making comparisons between periods and regions. They offer 'spyholes through which we could look to pinpoint elements of a social reality' of the kind advocated by Chris Wickham for the purposes of writing comparative history.[27] Because liturgy was so diverse, because people did have considerable freedom in how it was celebrated, because there was so little aspiration to uniformity, the surviving written sources are richly informative. As Susan Keefe says – and the other chapters in this book repeatedly emphasize – such texts 'tell of resistance and cooperation, borrowing and independence, conformity and non-conformity, local sensitivities, preferences, needs'.[28]

Historians cannot, however, assume that these differences had much, if anything, to do with how the liturgy was practised.[29] It is clear that liturgical manuscripts were created for many more reasons than was appreciated by earlier generations of scholars.[30] Given the oral nature of the transmission of liturgy in the Middle Ages it is even more important than ever to ask: Why were texts written down?[31] Sometimes it was for a practical purpose: in order to manage long and complex services, for use when out in the field, to note

[26] Andrew Jotischky, 'Holy Fire and Holy Sepulchre: Ritual and Space in Jerusalem from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries', in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Frances Andrews, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 21 (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2011), 44–60, at 45.

[27] Chris Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 5–28, at 12.

[28] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:154.

[29] On the last point see below Chapter 8, esp. 183 and Chapter 10.

[30] For the 'variety of intellectual contexts in which a single text could potentially reside' see Parkes, this book, 92.

[31] Thanks to Sarah Hamilton for repeatedly demonstrating to me how useful it is to ask this question; for further discussion of this issue see her chapter in this book, esp. 128. On oral transmission see Symes, this book, 247–49; Cochelin, 'Customaries', 27–28 and n. 5; Steven

down recently encountered texts and chant, to try to ensure revisions were carried out as anticipated, to mitigate the problems caused by a rapid turnover of people, to establish definitive texts.[32] But there were other reasons too. It has been argued that liturgies could be written down in order to control, suppress, limit or fossilize particular practices.[33] In particular, written rituals may have been intended to try to curtail improvisation. This was certainly something that worried Walahfrid Strabo in the ninth century who made a clear distinction between what was written and what was improvised: 'and we see that even today readings and collects and different kinds of praises are being added to an almost superabundance of things … But we must consider, as blessed Augustine says, "that we should sing what is written but what is not written we should not sing".'[34] Another reason for writing liturgies down was to deliberately obscure regional differences in order to emphasize unity. The *Regularis concordia*, a Benedictine customary promulgated at Winchester c. 966, is an example of a text that was probably intended to do several of these things: to suppress some contemporary liturgical practices (in which attempt it was unsuccessful), and to make a statement about unity in the context of the newly created kingdom of the English.[35] This makes it an extremely valuable source – but as evidence for the ideals of King Edgar and Bishop Æthelwold and only at best indirectly for the state of the liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England at the time. Whilst in the past it has been assumed that customaries such as this were compiled as guides to the rules by which a community should live, it is becoming increasingly clear that it is not safe to assume this. One example of this has already been cited: the evidence that many early medieval customaries,

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Vanderputten, ed., *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth–Thirteenth Centuries)*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

32 I have borrowed the last phrase from Carol Symes, 'The Medieval Archive and the History of Theatre: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance', *Theatre Survey* 52, no. 1 (2011): 29–58, at 50. For a rite written down in detail because of its novelty, see Romano, 'Gaudete Sunday', 96; for attempts to control doctrine see Bradshaw, *Origins of Christian Worship*, 225. For an example of a reason why a text was written down see Paxton, this book, 52.

33 See this book, Chapters 8 and 10.

34 '… cum videamus usque hodie et lectiones et collectas et diversas laudum species iam paene abundantibus omnibus superaddi … Sed videndum est, sicut beatus Augustinus ait, "ut ea cantentur, quae ita scripta sunt, quae autem non ita scripta sunt, non cantentur."' Harting-Corrêa, *Walahfrid Strabo's* Libellus de exordiis, 136–37. On improvisation see Chave-Mahir, this book, 173–74; Symes, this book, 249–50; and for a late Anglo-Saxon reference to improvisation in private prayer see Christopher A. Jones, 'Performing Christianity: Liturgical and Devotional Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 427–50, at 441.

35 Symes, 'Medieval Archive', 30.

including those of Cluny, were created as inspirational rather than normative documents.[36] These are some examples of the reasons why texts were written down other than simply being for practical use in a particular ceremony.

More evidence of the multifarious motivations for the creation of written liturgies comes from research into pontificals. The creation of this new type of liturgical book seems to have been part of a strategy to emphasize the power of bishops in the later ninth and early tenth centuries.[37] In some cases pontificals were associated with attempts by archiepiscopal sees to assert control over bishops within their provinces.[38] It has been suggested that the inclusion of didactic texts in them indicates that they were intended as texts from which to teach priests rather than for use in services.[39] Some functioned, even if they were not originally intended, as repositories of local information.[40] One example is the early tenth-century pontifical of Sens which contains an unusual and detailed rite for crowning a queen. This new rite appears to have been drawn up by Archbishop Walter of Sens c. 888–922 in order to demonstrate the rightful rule of successive West Frankish rulers whom he crowned. It was legitimized by being placed next to an older coronation rite for a king. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, oaths of fidelity of suffragan bishops were entered into this book in several places, including in the margins of the queen's coronation rite, which seems therefore to have been read as testimony of the authority of the archbishops of Sens.[41] Some manuscripts were intended both to memorialize the pontificates of individual bishops and serve as institutional histories. The Litlyngton Missal, a large-scale, deluxe mass book which includes some *ordines*, was produced for Westminster Abbey

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[36] Cochelin, 'Customaries', esp. 32–41 where it is also argued that this changed from the twelfth century onwards, especially in the context of the rise of monastic orders in which different houses were tied together by institutions which could be regulatory, such as general chapters and visitations.

[37] Eric Palazzo, 'La liturgie de l'occident médiéval autour de l'an mil: Etat de la question', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000): 371–94, at 377–83; Palazzo, *History*, 199; Niels Krogh Rasmussen, with Marcel Haverals, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genèse du livre de l'évêque*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents 49 (Leuven, 1998); S. Hamilton, Chapter 6 in this book for discussion about why early pontificals were created and pp. 126–27 for their use as statements of episcopal authority.

[38] Hamilton, 'Early Pontificals', 415–16.

[39] Ibid., 420–21; S. Hamilton, this book, 127.

[40] Hamilton, 'Early Pontificals', 421–28. For an example, see Yitzhak Hen, ed., *The Sacramentary of Echternach (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 9433)*, HBS 110 (London: HBS, 1997), 39–40.

[41] Shane Bobrycki, 'The Royal Consecration *Ordines* of the Pontifical of Sens from a New Perspective', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 13 (2009): 131–42, at 4–6 and 8n29 in the online edition; Hamilton, 'Early Pontificals', 422.

in 1383/84, and was commissioned to enshrine Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton into the history of the institution.[42] This book was so huge it would have been extremely unwieldy to use. It would be foolish to study the rites in such a book as if they were created primarily as texts from which to perform the liturgy.[43] As these examples demonstrate, rites *may* provide clues about how liturgy was performed but they can only be used as such with a great deal of care. Far from limiting their historical value, that makes them valuable for understanding the initiatives of particular individuals, for regional traditions, for institutional history, for ideas and ideals and – sometimes – for practice.

Process: How can Rites be Read?

In order to make sense of any one version of a ritual it needs to be placed within its widest possible context, especially:

- in relation to other versions of the same rite
- in relation to other rituals to which it is related
- within its manuscript context
- within the historical contexts of the place and time when it was written and read.

How can one achieve this? The last two points will be familiar to anyone working with manuscript sources. As far as possible it is desirable to try to answer questions such as: Where and when was the manuscript written? Who was it written and/or commissioned by and for? What else is in the manuscript? For what purposes was it created? Was it used and, if so, is there evidence for how? What else can be discovered about the manuscript's later history?

In terms of the text of a particular rite, in order to be able to interpret it one needs to know what in it is common and what is unusual, what is old and what may be new.[44] It is only possible to do this by adopting a comparative approach and by seeking out comparative material – from earlier and later periods, different regions, sometimes even from different religions depending on the questions one is addressing: 'the comparative perspective heightens the contrasts and makes ... some of the different developments ... easier to see,

42 Jayne Wackett, 'The Litlyngton Missal: Its Patron, Iconography and Messages' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Kent, 2015). For a definition of the word '*ordo*' see 4n4 above.

43 Pfaff, *Liturgy*, 228. See also Parkes, this book, 98–99.

44 Susan Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and England*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1989), 1:3, 7, 73.

perhaps even to explain'.[45] It can be helpful to cast the net widely to begin with before narrowing down the group of materials that are particularly useful, rather like an archaeologist undertaking surveys and opening up trial trenches to get a sense of the terrain and work out where activity should best be focused. You may be lucky to find that someone else has already done the spade-work and written a history of the ritual in question.[46] However, even so, one must be cautious about trusting secondary sources of this kind. There are several reasons for this. Few studies have been founded on extensive manuscript-based research; many more rely on edited canonical texts. This is problematic because of the misleading nature of such editions, which is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Also, the pervasiveness of misplaced ideas about the influence of the liturgies of major centres such as Rome and Salisbury has tended to skew interpretation.[47] The labelling of liturgies as 'Gallican', 'Roman' or 'of Sarum Use' in the Middle Ages often seems to have been intended as a mark of orthodoxy, a stamp of approval, rather than a statement that this was how things were done in Gaul or Rome or Salisbury.[48] In the Carolingian period, it appears that any baptismal rite could be called 'Roman' if it included the scrutinies, the preparatory meetings that took place in the week beforehand: '"The Roman ordo of baptism" meant a type of rite, of which there could be numerous legitimate variations'.[49] Additionally, the tendency to elide difference by writing about *ordines* as if they were literary texts (for example, the First and Second English Coronation *ordines*) and regional differences as though there were national rites ('Gallican'/ 'Mozarabic'/ 'Irish') means that the surviving evidence is often misrepresented.[50] In other words, one is likely to find that the manuscript evidence is much more diverse and complex

[45] Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', 27, talking about a different example of comparative history.

[46] For useful bibliographic sources see the references cited in the Introduction, 3n2 above. The introductions to two editions are bibliographic mines, though they lack subject indices: *The Leofric Missal*, ed. Nicholas Orchard, 2 vols., HBS 113–14 (London: HBS, 2002); *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052)*, ed. Nicholas Orchard, HBS 116 (London: HBS, 2005).

[47] See this book, Chapter 2, 48, and Chapters 4 and 5; Hen, 'Liturgical Handbook'; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1, esp. 98–115, 131–37; Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 13.

[48] I am grateful to Matthew Salisbury for articulating this point so clearly to me. See this book, Chapter 2, 48, and Chapter 5. Paxton, '*Bonus Liber*', 16 and n.69; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:42, 67–68, 150–53; Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Use of York: Characteristics of the Medieval Liturgical Office in York*, Borthwick Paper 113 (York: Borthwick Institute, University of York, 2008), esp. 40.

[49] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:67–69, 150–53 (quote on 150).

[50] For example: 'the native Gallican rite', Gerald Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 AD* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1933), 18; 'the various "national" usages', Cornelius Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century*

than one would expect from the way it has been presented in the historiography. Finally, it is often the case that current ideas about the dates and places of origins of key manuscripts have changed considerably since older studies were written and this can have a considerable impact on the conclusions reached. So, while it is always worth seeking out earlier studies of a particular ritual, not least because they are likely to guide you to a core repertory of prayers and a range of sources, their conclusions must be handled cautiously.

It is therefore important to look at as many manuscript witnesses as possible. Printed editions are a quick way of doing this but one needs to be careful when using synthetic editions based on several manuscripts which claim to reconstruct a text that cannot be shown ever to have existed, like the Romano-German Pontifical: this issue is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.[51] *Ordines* tend to be found in pontificals, manuals and sacramentaries, so these are sensible places to look. Edmond Martène's early eighteenth-century collection of editions of *ordines* remains useful as do the descriptive catalogues produced by Victor Leroquais.[52] Other especially valuable resources are the handlist of pontificals compiled by Richard Kay and the editions produced by the Henry Bradshaw Society.[53] As more manuscripts are digitized it is becoming increasingly easy to look them up directly rather than having to work initially via intermediaries. This is likely to have a radical effect on the whole discipline.[54]

At an early stage it is helpful to identify the core material of a ritual: prayers, chant and readings that were often compiled early in the history of a rite and are commonly found.[55] This is where synthetic editions of texts can be useful. Consulting editions of the early medieval Supplemented Hadrianum, *Ordines Romani*, *PRG*, and later medieval 'Sarum' rite can be a fast way of identifying

(Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1957), xiii. Bradshaw, *Origins of Christian Worship*, 145, discusses the tendency to emphasize similarities rather than differences, and see Parkes, this volume, 79–80.

51 *PRG*.

52 Edmund Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, 2nd edn., 4 vols. (Antwerp: Joannis Baptistae de la Bry, 1736–38). It needs to be used in conjunction with Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène: Etude codicologique*, Studi e Testi 279 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978) which identifies the modern shelfmarks of many of the manuscripts; Leroquais, *Pontificaux*; V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris: n.p., 1924).

53 Kay, *Pontificalia*.

54 There is currently an online catalogue of Digitized Medieval Manuscripts at http://digitizedmedievalmanuscripts.org/ and the Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music is also useful: http://www.diamm.ac.uk/. There are substantial collections of microfilms of medieval manuscripts at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St John's University, US, and the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France. For examples of digitized texts see the ones discussed in Chapter 6.

55 Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:12–15.

common texts. Such work can be supplemented by the collation tables found at the back of some editions.[56] The identification of a common core of materials is helpful because it makes it easier to spot things that appear to be distinctive to the manuscript(s) in question.

The distinctive material – of whatever kind, whether prayers, rubrics, or ritual actions – can help to identify the 'family' of texts to which the ritual belongs. Occasionally one will find a copy of a text that exists in other manuscripts. More often it will share affinities, more or less closely, with other rites. The word 'family' has been used in several recent studies and is a useful analogy for describing rites that are more or less textually related to one another. People talk about identifying 'tell-tale signs', 'markers', 'signature features', 'symptoms', 'traits' or 'text elements' of one type of rite or another.[57] An example is the 'breviculum' type of rite for blessing holy oils, so-called because of its 'unusual provision that each ampoule shall bear a *breviculum* ("label" or "tag") identifying the oil that it contains'.[58] Often the simplest way of identifying such families is by distilling the rites in question down to their principal constituent parts: the sequence of ritual actions. This usually reveals major differences between families.[59] But other features may help to do so, such as the titles they are given or the musical notation included in them.[60] I have repeatedly found in my own research that patterns are much easier to spot the more evidence one has. If you only look at a few sources it is hard to see what features are worth attending to, so it is important to examine material written over a long time span and from a wide geographical area.

Having cast the net widely, one can then return to the particular text or texts in question with a better sense of their chronological and geographical affinities. Often one will be interested in interrogating them further to ask

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56 Some key texts are cited in Chapters 2–5.

57 Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 193–96; Jones, 'Chrism Mass', esp. 114–15; Christopher A. Jones, 'Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 325–52, at 344–45; Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:60.

58 Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 114.

59 Robert Taft, 'The Structural Analysis of Liturgical Units: An Essay in Methodology', *Worship* 52 (1978): 314–29 for an example in this volume see L. Hamilton, 180–81.

60 'Ordines tend to reveal something of their pedigree in their very titles … titles in particular may tell us something about the principal exemplar a scribe had before him' : Kozachek, 'Repertory', 33. On the value of music in this context see Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:13; Kozachek, 'Repertory', esp. 83–84, 319–21 (where he argues that the notation of only a few antiphons in a particular rite suggests this was because the antiphons – and their music – were new), 323–26 (for the suggestion that the sporadic provision of notation in a ritual was for its use on 'a specific occasion'); Chapter 3, 66–67 below.

questions like: How did this rite change over time? Where and when did it originate? Where and when was it revised? This usually involves trying to work out the relationships between texts within a group and attempting to place them in a chronological sequence. This is difficult to do; it is particularly hard to establish hypotheses capable of verification or falsification. This is because only a small proportion of the evidence survives, one is dealing with a textual tradition in which scribes were not aiming to reproduce literary texts faithfully, and there was a great deal of cross-fertilization between families of texts.[61] One also has to remember that the dates when particular rites were compiled may be different from the dates of the manuscripts in which they are found. The appearance of old rites in later books may not necessarily be due to slavish copying: for example it has been suggested that an ancient *ordo* for the blessing of the oils may have been 'rediscovered and proudly adopted in the course of the tenth-century revival' in England.[62] Nonetheless research has to focus on the surviving evidence. People tend to proceed by drawing up tables which summarize the structure and content of each rite as accurately as possible.[63] This allows one to see which rites share most material with one another. Often you can identify prayers or ritual actions added into an earlier rite which subsequently became part of the standard repertory.[64] At times one can glimpse this process in action where, for example, a scribe has several exempla open on the desk and s/he is selecting between them.[65] Sometimes

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[61] Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:146; Bradshaw, *Origins of Christian Worship*, 5; Jones, 'Chrism Mass', esp. 128; Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 193–94; Pfaff, *Liturgy*, 156, 'the comparative-textual method is irreplaceable but limited, in both scope and accuracy. We cannot operate without it, but it is unlikely ever to reveal a whole story'.

[62] Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 112.

[63] Examples: Sarah Hamilton, 'Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Gittos and Bedingfield, 93–103; Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 139–40; Jones, 'Origins', 288–315; Helen Gittos, 'Hallowing the Rood: Consecrating Crosses in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2008), 242–75, at 269–73, 275; Gittos, *Liturgy*, Tables 1–4, pp. 46–47, 116–18, 125–27, 246–55.

[64] S. Hamilton, this book, 155 for an example.

[65] For example, in the church dedication ceremony in the later tenth-century Egbert Pontifical (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. latin 10575) the scribe appears to have had several rites in front of him and on one occasion copied out a rubric commonly found in tenth-century Frankish pontificals and then, noticing that this conflicted with contemporary Anglo-Saxon practice, struck it out, and copied out a rubric found in several other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. H.M.J. Banting, HBS 104 (London: HBS, 1989), 42–43; Kozachek, 'Repertory', 303n16, 305–6, 313n30; Gittos, *Liturgy*, 223, fig. 79. For other examples see Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 128–30, and S. Hamilton, 142–43 below.

one can see that a medieval liturgist has chosen features characteristic of one type of rite and inserted them into another. In early versions these can appear as marginal additions, which then get incorporated into later copies.[66] One recurring characteristic of the history of rites is that to begin with only the key texts required by the celebrant and skeletal rubrics are recorded. In later versions, the service gets more complex, and more detail is written down. This tendency may then be checked as it becomes desirable to slim down *ordines* in part to make them more usable. It does not follow that the simplest rites are the earliest, but it is often the case.[67] It is also common to find new material placed at the end of a rite; only in later versions does it get moved into its proper, intended location, displacing earlier texts.[68] Using all this information it should be possible to work out the simplest explanation for how the various rites within a family are related to one another – and to those in other families.[69] All the time one needs to keep an eye on the manuscript contexts of the texts in question. It may be possible to test one's resulting hypothesis by collating the texts of prayers to see whether variants follow the predicted pattern.[70]

It is worth saying here that whilst there has been an understandable backlash against the desire to seek the origins of rites, it is not a completely futile enterprise. The reason for the negativity is that in the past liturgical scholarship was dominated by a search for origins and an erroneous belief that there was once a single early text which could be reconstructed. This meant that the surviving manuscripts were not considered as valuable evidence in their own right and attempts were made to reconstruct ancient texts that never existed and establish evolutionary models that were false.[71] However, new rites *were* created – sometimes surprisingly late – and the process can sometimes be recovered and be of considerable historical interest.[72]

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66 Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 128.

67 J. Brückmann, 'The Ordines of the Third Recension of the Medieval English Coronation Order', in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 99–115, at 110; Rankin, *Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama*, 1:12; Bradshaw, *Origins of Christian Worship*, 9; Symes, this book, 251–52; for an example of a streamlined rite see S. Hamilton, this book, 143–53.

68 For an example see Jones, 'Origins', 280n169; Kozachek, 'Repertory', 254.

69 Examples of diagrammatic representations of such hypotheses: Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 194–95; Gittos, *Liturgy*, figs. 10, 35, 84. For the difficulties in doing such research see Parkes, 79–80 below.

70 For an example along these lines, see Jones, 'Origins', 280.

71 Bradshaw, *Origins of Christian Worship*, 1–13; Parkes, this book, Chapter 4; Salisbury, this book, Chapter 5, esp. 104; Flynn, this book, 58.

72 Gittos, *Liturgy*, 39–54 (for the consecration of cemeteries), 235–36 (for relaying pavements moved from elsewhere).

When all this is done it is possible to read the rites much more attentively and to suggest where, when and by whom a version of a rite was created and for what reasons.

Problems

Having suggested a way of proceeding, it is worth considering some of the problems that are likely to be encountered. These liturgical sources pose challenges owing to the very diversity that makes them so interesting. Such a small proportion of the evidence survives that major changes can be obscured from view. The vast majority of evidence is unpublished, sometimes either uncatalogued or poorly catalogued, and is likely to remain so.[73] This is why the digitization of manuscripts will have a particularly significant impact on this field. The degree of difference encountered can be hard to manage, especially for complex rites such as the dedication of churches or royal coronations. For this reason studies tend to aim broadly but end up tackling only aspects of a rite, or material from a limited chronological or geographical area.[74] Because of the need to deal with very large numbers of manuscripts it can be hard to keep a firm grip on the evidence for the dates and places of origins of those that one is not working on directly. One often finds that histories of rites are marred by errors of this kind, which can seriously undermine the conclusions drawn. It is worth spending time on this; *Scriptorium Online* is a useful bibliographic resource for published work on medieval manuscripts.[75]

Another type of problem is encountered with those rituals that have a rather unusual textual history, of which two examples are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The excommunication rites considered by Sarah Hamilton only began to be written down some time after they were first used and continued to be viewed as being 'peripheral to the content of pontificals'.[76] They were initially recorded in legal manuscripts alongside canon law and later on tended to be added into liturgical manuscripts, often in an ad hoc manner. As Florence Chave-Mahir reveals, exorcisms are even more elusive – they were rarely written down at all

73 The situation today is little different from the one depicted just after the war: 'Every study in this field … is bound, despite extensive consultation of manuscripts, to be incomplete and provisional … and the student will notice that many roads are as yet unpaved and that even the highways are not always reliable'; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, University of California Publications in History 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), ix.

74 For example, McMillan, *Episcopal Ordination*, 2, and Paxton, this book, 41–42.

75 www.scriptorium.be last accessed 23 April 2015.

76 See 140 below.

until the very end of the Middle Ages.[77] Why this was remains to be discovered: perhaps both were considered too potent and dangerous to be routinely written out as *ordines* in pontificals. Certainly these examples demonstrate that one needs to be alert to the possibility that evidence may lurk in unlikely places.[78] This is also a useful reminder of the extent to which only a limited amount of what was performed ever got written down.

Even when one does have an *ordo*, it is highly unlikely to be in any sense complete.[79] A fundamental aspect of liturgical books is that they were usually designed to be used by a particular person and to contain only those parts of the service required by that individual.[80] So, for Palm Sunday, one may find additional material in a processional (a book containing chant for use in processions) that is not included in an *ordo*. It is also common to find only the *incipits* of chant rather than full texts, and this can alter the apparent rhythm of a rite considerably. In a re-enactment of a late medieval rite for reconciling penitents on Maundy Thursday, those participants used to reading liturgical texts were a little taken aback by how long it took to sing the seven penitential psalms – a rubric of only a few words actually took almost twenty minutes to complete.[81] This point is made forcibly in Fred Paxton's attempt to create a full text of all the elements in the death ritual from a late eleventh-century customary from Cluny: the result is many times longer than the original *ordo*.[82] One aspect of learning to read rites is knowing where else to look to find texts that are not given in full.

Another problem is knowing how to recognize rites in the first place. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, editors tended to make judgements about the genre to which texts belonged, many of which now look inappropriate. Eager to seek the origins of European drama, vernacular texts displaying what were perceived to be dramatic characteristics were identified and printed in such a manner that they were completely detached from their manuscript contexts. The text known as 'Sponsus', for example, a 'liturgical play' in Latin and Occitan

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77 Chapter 7.

78 For baptismal *ordines* in manuscripts intended for educational purposes or as exempla, see Keefe, *Water and the Word*, 1:21–30.

79 S. Hamilton, this volume, 153–58 for an example.

80 John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 59, ch. 4.

81 This was organized by John Harper and took place at St Teilo's church, St Fagans National History Museum, Cardiff, in June 2010. A film of it can be seen at the AHRC Interpreting Medieval Liturgy Network website (http://projects.exeter.ac.uk/mlnetwork/workshop3.php) and on YouTube (http://www.youtube.com/user/MedievalLiturgy). See also p. 70.

82 Frederick S. Paxton, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages / Le rituel de la mort à Cluny au moyen âge central*, Disciplina monastica 9, fontes 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); and see below 50–56.

for the Easter Vigil, was printed in a facsimile as if it were a discrete item in the manuscript, starting on its own line. In fact, it follows on directly from the preceding liturgy. It is found in a late eleventh-century proser-troper (which contains sung embellishments for use in the mass and office) from the abbey of Saint-Martial, Limoges: there is no reason to think that contemporaries would have seen this as anything other than liturgy. As Carol Symes says, 'Plays independent from liturgical context are what scholars have wanted to see, and they will occasionally go to great lengths in order to ensure that this is all there is to be seen.'[83] Parallels can be made with a group of Latin and Old English texts known as the 'Cattle Theft Charms' for use when a horse or cow was stolen. These 'charms' tend to be found in legal manuscripts. Once interpreted as pagan survivals, they are now being considered as examples 'of episcopal performative power in a realm that falls somewhere between our modern labels of liturgy and law'.[84] I suspect even this may be unnecessarily tentative and they are best considered simply as liturgical texts. Anglo-Saxon medical remedies and other kinds of charms have also suffered from having been gathered up and mislabelled. It is only in very recent times that scholars are finally willing to see that some, if not all, of these are best understood as prayers, blessings and liturgical rites. This is despite the number of clues available: they sometimes contain liturgical Latin, are found in liturgical books, and refer to their being carried out by priests in churches.[85] These are examples of how the assignment of texts to particular

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83 Carol Symes, 'The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theatre', *Speculum* 77, no. 3 (2002): 778–831, at 795; Carol Symes, 'A Few Odd Visits: Unusual Settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri*', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 300–22, at 301–12.

84 Tracey-Anne Cooper, 'Episcopal Power and Performance: The Fugitive-Thief Rite in Textus Roffensis (Also Known as the Cattle-Theft Charm)', in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, ed. Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). Thanks to the author for sending me a copy of this prior to publication. Geoffrey Koziol, 'The Early History of Rites of Supplication', in *Suppliques et requêtes: le gouvernement par la Grâce en Occident, XIIe–XVe siècle*, ed. Hélène Millet (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2003), 21–36, at 29 argues that early medieval petitions 'were essentially prayers'.

85 For relevant discussion see John D. Niles, 'The Æcerbot Ritual in Context', in *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, ed. John D. Niles (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1980), 44–56, 163–64; Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 113–23, 132–68; Stephanie Hollis, 'Scientific and Medical Writings', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 188–208, esp. 203; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 484–85; R.M. Liuzza, 'Prayers and/ or Charms to the Cross', in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2007), 279–323; Rebecca M.C. Fisher, 'The Anglo-Saxon Charms:

genres in modern times continues to influence the way material is classified and interpreted.

My final example of a problem is also partly a solution. In this chapter I have focused on *ordines* because they are of fundamental importance. However, there are likely to be a very large number of other types of sources for the history of any given rite including sermons, saints' lives, expositions of the liturgy, artistic depictions, architectural settings, other narrative sources, even account books listing payments for materials and work in preparation for a particular service. Ideally one would take all of this material into account.[86] However, this is often impractical, and instead scholars tend to focus on particular types of sources. This is not ideal because different genres of source tend to provide insights which may be complementary but can be apparently contradictory. Chapter 8 explores this by comparing the types of information about rites for dedicating churches that can be gained from liturgical books and sermons. By looking across a range of sources we may understand more about how rituals were experienced and considered. Attention to other sources is crucial when few *ordines* survive and in Chapter 7 Florence Chave-Mahir explores the use of hagiography as a source for liturgical practice. As we learn to ask better questions, there are likely to be many more inferences that can be made about liturgical practices from church buildings themselves and in Chapter 9 Carolyn Marino Malone gives some examples of what can be learnt by combining texts and buildings.[87] Wherever

Texts in Context', in *Approaching Methodology*, ed. Frog and Pauliina Latvala, with Helen F. Leslie (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2012), 221–47; Jones, 'Performing Christianity', 441–43; Rebecca M.C. Fisher, 'Genre, Prayers and the Anglo-Saxon Charms' in *Genre, Text, Interpretation: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Folklore and Beyond*, ed. Kaarina Koski (University of Helsinki, forthcoming); and now particularly Ciaran Arthur, 'The Liturgy of Charms in Anglo-Saxon England' (working title for unpub. PhD thesis, University of Kent, in progress). I am grateful to Ciaran Arthur and also former students on my special subject *Ritual, Ceremony and Magic in the Early Middle Ages* and on the University of Kent's MA in Medieval and Early Modern Studies for helping me explore this material, especially Ruth Stone, and to Rebecca Fisher for sending me an advance copy of her forthcoming article.

86 Examples of studies of individual rites that draw on several genres of evidence include Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, with comments on sources at 14–16; Joseph H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship: Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001); Florence Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme des possédés dans l'Eglise d'Occident (Xe–XIVe siècle)*, Bibliothèque d'histoire culturelle du moyen âge 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

87 These are useful bibliographies: Sible de Blaauw, 'Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Traditions and Trends in Modern Scholarship', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 33 (1991): 1–34; Eric Palazzo, 'Art and Liturgy in the Middle Ages: Survey of Research (1980–2003) and Some Reflections on Method', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105, no. 1 (2006): 170–84. Examples of other recent studies which adopt a variety

possible, triangulation with other types of sources can greatly help interpretation of the *ordines*.

Possibilities

In order to understand better how liturgical rites were created, revised and used in the Middle Ages, research needs to proceed in several directions:

> A fast rule in the study of liturgical manuscripts generally, and of pontificals especially, is that relations between books as wholes cannot be argued merely on the evidence of this or that single component. And yet the working out of such larger relationships has few options but to proceed ritual by ritual.[88]

In other words, there needs to be more investigation of the history of individual rites, the relationships between individual manuscripts, as well as between families of manuscripts. One question is: Was diversity more acceptable in some rituals – and books of rituals – than others? It is widely accepted that 'as one moved outward from the canon first to the rest of the liturgy of the mass, then to the daily office, and finally to occasional rites like penance, one finds at each step more tolerance for alteration.'[89] It has also been said that pontificals 'tend to be much less conservative than sacramentaries [mass books]'.[90] Are these impressions correct and, if so, what do they suggest about how different types of rituals were classified, and do these observations remain valid throughout the Middle Ages?[91] Another major question is: At what stage do we begin to see a great deal of homogeneity in rites? Is this true for the late Middle Ages? Are

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of approaches include: P.S. Barnwell, 'The Laity, the Clergy and the Divine Presence: The Use of Space in Smaller Churches of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157 (2004): 41–60; Richard Gem, 'How Much Can Anglo-Saxon Buildings Tell Us about Liturgy?', in *Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Gittos and Bedingfield, 271–89; Paul Everson and David Stocker, 'The Common Steeple? Church, Liturgy, and Settlement in Early Medieval Lincolnshire', in *Anglo-Norman Studies 27: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2005*, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 103–23; Paul Crossley, '*Ductus* and *Memoria*: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric', in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 214–49; Tomás Ó Carragáin, 'Archaeology of Early Medieval Baptism at St Mullin's, Co Carlow', *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 21 (2010): 285–302; Gittos, *Liturgy*. See also the references in Paxton, this book, 54n64.

88 Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 128.

89 Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 160.

90 Jones, 'Chrism Mass', 111.

91 See also S. Hamilton, this volume, 158.

there particular regions in which this happened? Did the availability of printed texts curtail improvisation?[92]

Greater attention to evidence for moments of decision making in the process of putting together a text would be instructive. Occasionally one can see that a scribe had one or more manuscripts open in front of him/her, and was selecting bits from each rite, as is the case with a church dedication rite in the late tenth-century Egbert Pontifical.[93] Such instances give some insight into the process by which rites were revised and the options available at a particular place. More attention to the working documents of liturgists would be useful too. Some of the materials in the commonplace books of Wulfstan, archbishop of York (1002–23) look as if they were gathered up by a man with a keen interest in liturgy.[94] It seems likely that more evidence of this kind will have survived, particularly given the materials for the composition of sermons that are being recovered.[95] Another approach would be to make careful comparisons between manuscripts which are similar: examples I am familiar with are the Dunstan and Anderson pontificals, and two mid-eleventh-century pontificals associated with Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1046–72).[96] Each pair of manuscripts is substantially, though not entirely, alike: working out the ways in which they differ and the inferences that can be made from those differences could be instructive. More work on larger groups of closely related manuscripts also would be helpful. There are some places from which many manuscripts survive, and this allows one to trace change over time in some detail. Fred Paxton and Eric Palazzo have demonstrated how productive such analysis can be in their work on the ninth-century sacramentaries from St Amand and Fulda.[97] Canterbury Cathedral in

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92 I am grateful to Matthew Salisbury for this suggestion. Analogously, it has been argued that printed texts served to delineate genres of plays: Symes, 'Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays', 828–29. See also p. 16 and n. 12 above.

93 See above, n. 65.

94 Jones, 'Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests'.

95 For example, Ursula Lenker, 'The Rites and Ministries of the Canons: Liturgical Rubrics to Vernacular Gospels and Their Functions in a European Context', in *Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Gittos and Bedingfield, 185–212.

96 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. latin 943; London, British Library, Additional Ms. 57337; London, British Library, Additional Ms. 28188, an edition of which is being prepared by Christopher A. Jones for publication by the HBS; London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vitellius A. vii. For discussion and references see Gittos, *Liturgy*, 279–80, 283, 285–86. This is something I hope to pursue.

97 Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 169–85, and this book Chapter 2; Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda: Etude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 77 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994). Carolyn Malone makes use of the three surviving customaries from Saint-Bénigne, Dijon, in Chapter 9 of this book, pp. 208–25.

the central Middle Ages is one place where it is possible to do this for rites, and some research has demonstrated the potential of the material, but more could be done.[98] Another candidate would be the cathedral of Sens, France, from where many manuscripts survive.[99] These are examples of the kinds of research that would help reveal more about the processes involved in the creation and revision of rites.

Such research feeds into debate about the circumstances in which rites were created and revised. Did this tend to happen in preparation for a particular occasion? Or when a new manuscript was commissioned? Were there moments when a desire for reform led to thorough revision? To what extent were written rites intended to control behaviour, close down options and curtail improvisation?[100] Such questions are bound up with the issue of who was responsible for revising rites: cantors? precentors? librarians? abbots? bishops? deans?[101] Were new rites disseminated from particular centres, such as the cathedrals of Canterbury, Salisbury, York and Rome, or the monastery at Cluny? And in what circumstances were the manuscripts themselves produced? It has been suggested that in late Anglo-Saxon England, 'a new pontifical was created for each archbishop as he took up office'.[102] Mary Mansfield has argued that northern French pontificals from c. 1150 to 1350 'had an average life span of fifty years or so' and from the fourteenth century pontificals 'were increasingly luxury items produced to celebrate the election of a particular bishop rather than to serve the diocese during several episcopates'.[103] Is this true? If so, who was responsible for shaping the contents of these books?[104] Was this used as an opportunity for liturgical revision or were these compilations of rites that had been revised since the last pontifical was made? How influential were pontificals? Were they vehicles for authorizing new ideas or hardly used books largely for display?[105] What purpose did explicatory and theological rubrics serve? One oddity that remains to be explained is that although pontificals contained rites

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98 Jones, 'Origins'; Gittos, *Liturgy*, 42–54, 113–21, 124–29, 220–30; Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral'.

99 Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 162n6, 231–34.

100 Symes, Chapter 10 below with references to her previous work.

101 Margot E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29–51; Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 163.

102 David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 93; Gittos, 'Sources for the Liturgy of Canterbury Cathedral', 41–44.

103 Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 162, 230.

104 Ibid., 163–64.

105 'At times, in fact, the liturgical books actually anticipated theological changes'; Mansfield, *Humiliation of Sinners*, 164.

that were designed to be used by bishops they appear to have been owned by a wider range of people and institutions, especially monasteries and nunneries. This seems to have been the case right through the Middle Ages. So far, some possible explanations have been suggested but no sustained research has been done. Such books may have been used as academic resources, especially for the theology of the liturgy, or available for use by visiting bishops, or by abbots when they participated in grand episcopal ceremonies, or they may have been part of the accoutrements of a mitred abbot.[106] Nicholas Litlyngton, the abbot of Westminster whose missal we have previously encountered, seems to have been very keen in that book to demonstrate that he could perform liturgical ceremonies usually restricted to a bishop.[107] The range of possible reasons why places other than cathedrals had copies of pontificals shows how useful it would be to understand the problem better.

And what about manuals, book for priests: how were they put together? Recent research has begun to undermine the negative stereotypes of priests as poorly educated, lazy incompetents. Examples of priestly books and book collections have been studied, though so far only on a small scale.[108] One late eighth- or early ninth-century Carolingian example was written by at least three scribes simultaneously, which led Yitzhak Hen to wonder whether there was 'mass production of similar codices for the use of priests and itinerant missionaries throughout the Carolingian empire'.[109] Were there times when priests compiled their own manuscripts, gathering materials they anticipated would be useful, copying out texts encountered during their training?[110] The fundamental nature of some of these questions illustrates how much remains to be understood.

Conclusion: Performance

In this chapter I have not focused on what rites may reveal about how they were performed because this topic is explored by Carol Symes in Chapter 10. However, in conclusion it is worth making two points about this here. The

[106] For further discussion see Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz 950–1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) and this book, Parkes, 98–99. For an eleventh-century example see the discussion of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 44 in Gittos, *Liturgy*, 282, and the references cited there.

[107] See above, 22–23.

[108] See above, n. 25 and Matthew Wranovix, 'Ulrich Pfeffel's Library: Parish Priests, Preachers, and Books in the Fifteenth Century', *Speculum* 87, no. 4 (2012): 1125–55.

[109] Hen, 'Liturgical Handbook'.

[110] This would make sense of the contents of the 'Red Book of Darley': Gittos, 'Is There Any Evidence?', 69.

first is that recent work on medieval and early modern drama is highly relevant to students of medieval liturgy. Current work on performance practices, and the relationship between written texts and actual performances, provides very close parallels with the problems faced by liturgical historians. It is instructive, for example, to think about the different ways in which 'complex performance pieces' were recorded for those who were already familiar with them, or for those who had not encountered them before.[111] Variety in what was written down, and how it was presented, may be explained by differences in the intended audiences as well as changing ideas about what ought to be recorded. A second, related, point worth emphasizing is that liturgical rites are extremely valuable historical sources even if they were never performed, or in very different ways from what was written, or with participants who did not understand them.[112] That is because even in such circumstances, liturgical manuscripts are evidence for decisions made by their compilers and copyists. Because medieval liturgy was neither conservative nor uniform it is extremely revealing – so long as we can learn to read its rites right.

[111] Symes, 'Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays', 800–802 (p. 792 for the quote); S. Hamilton, this volume, 153–58.

[112] Bobrycki, 'Royal Consecration *Ordines*', 2; Gittos, *Liturgy*, 8–11.

Chapter 2

Researching Rites for the Dying and the Dead

Frederick S. Paxton

Rites for the dying and the dead have been on my research agenda for thirty-five years. An account of how Benedictine monks responded to a brother's death triggered my first foray into the critical study of medieval texts: a translation and commentary on the care of the dying and the dead in the late eleventh-century monastic customaries of Bernard and Ulrich of Cluny.[1] That project set me wondering how the highly complex rituals in the customaries – the 'customs' of a particular house or order which describe aspects of monastic life not covered in the Benedictine Rule – had evolved. What did they owe to Christian antiquity versus medieval Christianity, for example? Pursuing such questions led to a dissertation and book on the origins and early growth of death rituals in Latin Christianity.[2] Investigations instigated by that research revealed the limits of a strictly liturgical approach to the history of death and dying while also suggesting new ways of presenting liturgical sources for study and reflection. So I went back to the death ritual at Cluny. Monastic customaries did not include the texts of the prayers and chants of liturgical rites, citing them simply by their first few words (or *incipits*). Consequently, my earlier work revealed the overall structure of the death ritual at Cluny but ignored much of its content. It was as if I had used the stage directions and song titles for an opera or musical but not the spoken lines or lyrics. So I set out to reconstruct everything Cluniac monks said or sang in response to death, hunting down the missing texts of the prayers, psalms and chants in other liturgical sources. This study discusses the major tools and methods I used in moving from the Cluniac death ritual to the origins of Latin Christian death

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1 Frederick S. Paxton, 'A Medieval Latin Death Ritual: The Monastic Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich of Cluny', MA thesis, University of Washington, 1980; published under the same title as no. 1 in the series Studies in Music-Thanatology (Missoula, MT: St. Dunstan's Press, 1993).

2 Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

rituals and back again.[3] It is a case study of how a generation of developments in liturgical and monastic studies, and in the history of death, dying and the dead, guided, shaped and supported my scholarly research and writing.

The Cluniac Death Ritual in the Customaries of Ulrich and Bernard

My introduction to monastic customaries began with a reading of the Constitutions of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070–89), created for the cathedral chapter of monks over whom he also presided as abbot, as edited and translated by Dom David Knowles (1896–1974).[4] Knowles's work remains, in a revised edition by Christopher N.L. Brooke, one of only two complete modern English translations of medieval customaries for particular abbeys.[5] The extraordinary level of care taken by the monks of Canterbury to attend to the spiritual needs of the dying and the dead made a deep impression on me. Coming at the end of Lanfranc's text, they seemed to mark not just the culmination of the customary but also the place where the monastic liturgy, the 'work of God' (*opus dei*), was most dramatically focused on the needs of a particular individual. That encounter spurred an interest in monastic customaries as sources of medieval ritual life and, in particular, of rites for the dying and the dead. Since Lanfranc's directions for the death ritual at Canterbury clearly derived from the customs of Cluny (in Burgundy, France) and since Cluny's customs were not available in English, I decided to translate the two roughly contemporary versions of the Cluniac customaries and see what they said about death, dying and the dead at Cluny at the height of its influence in the late eleventh century.

It would have been nice to have modern critical editions of the customaries to work with, but while they were major desiderata of the *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* (the corpus of monastic customaries), which had produced, under the direction of Dom Kassius Hallinger, seven volumes

3 For a more personal perspective on the same material, see Frederick S. Paxton, 'Listening to the Monks of Cluny', in *Why the Middle Ages Matter: Medieval Light on Modern Injustice*, ed. Celia Chazelle, Simon Doubleday, Felice Lifshitz and Amy G. Remensnyder (London: Routledge, 2012), 41–53.

4 Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. Dom David Knowles (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1951); reprinted with minor corrections and a slightly revised introduction as *Decreta Lanfranci monachis Cantuariensibus transmissa*, CCM 3 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1967); Dom (from Latin *Dominus*) is an honorific for Benedictine monks.

5 Brooke's revised edition was published in Oxford by the Clarendon Press in 2002. See also *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham in Oxfordshire*, ed. Antonia Gransden, CCM 2 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1963); and Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

by the late 1970s, they had not yet appeared.[6] In fact, they still have not.[7] As I learned quite quickly, the relationship between the two Cluniac customaries is so fraught with questions about who wrote first, Bernard or Ulrich, and the degree to which the extant editions were contaminated by material from one or the other of the two authors, that no one has been able to sort it out. I thus decided to translate both accounts, comment on their common features and assess the degree to which their differences supported or undermined Dom Hallinger's argument that Bernard's text was written before Ulrich's.[8]

The text of Ulrich's customary was readily available in the *Patrologia Latina*, the massive nineteenth-century collection of works by Christian authors from the second to the thirteenth centuries published by Jacques-Paul Migne.[9] Migne had reprinted an edition of Ulrich's customary done by Jean Luc d'Achery (1609–85), a French Benedictine of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris, the head of the so-called Congregation of Saint-Maur, a group of abbeys with a decidedly scholarly bent who looked to medieval Cluny as a model for reforming monastic practice in their own time.[10] Bernard's customary was more difficult to access, for Migne, the publishing impresario behind the *Patrologia* series, did not choose to reprint it.[11] The only available edition was by another monk of Saint-Maur, the German Benedictine Marquard Herrgott (1694–

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6 CCM. I was able to use Giles Constable's edition of the Statutes of Abbot Peter the Venerable (1122–56) in *Consuetudines Benedictinae variae (Saec. XI–Saec. XIV)*, CCM 6 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1975) for insights into minor but significant changes to the death ritual in the first half of the twelfth century.

7 But see note 55 below.

8 The major discussions of the issues at that time were by H.R. Philippeau, 'Pour l'histoire de la coutume de Cluny', *Revue Mabillon* 44 (1954): 141–51 (an important study that is often overlooked); and Kassius Hallinger, 'Klunys Bräuche zur Zeit Hugos der Grossen (1049–1109) Prolegomena zur Neuherausgabe des Bernhard und Udalrich von Kluny', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: kanonistische Abteilung* 45 (1959): 99–140. For more recent work, see below note 56.

9 *Antiquiores consuetudines cluniacensi monasterii*, *PL* 149: 643–778.

10 Luc d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum delituerant*, 3 vols. (Paris: Montalant, 1723, a slightly revised edition of the original, published 1655–77), 1:641–703. On the Maurists and Cluny, see Marc Saurette, 'Excavating and Renovating Ancient Texts: Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Editions of Bernard of Cluny's *Consuetudines* and Early Modern Monastic Scholarship', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 85–107.

11 For the story behind the *Patrologia*, see R. Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

1762), who had included it in a collection of customaries published in 1726.[12] Herrgott's book was so rare, however, that I was only able to get photocopies of the most relevant pages. As a result, I limited my research to the chapters in Ulrich's customary that corresponded to what I had available from Bernard's. That was probably a good thing, because had I had the whole text, I might never have had the courage to write on just one small section of it, however important and interesting.

One other helpful publication by a monk of Saint-Maur was available: four volumes of ritual texts drawn from a wide array of medieval manuscripts and organized according to the sacraments by Edmond Martène (1654–1739).[13] Parts of the Cluniac death ritual according to both Ulrich and Bernard, and from other sources based on their customaries, appeared among Martène's sections on rites for the sick, the penitent and the dying. A final source, an edition of a High Medieval missal from Westminster Abbey, published in 1891 by the Henry Bradshaw Society as the first volume of a still ongoing venture to edit and publish important liturgical manuscripts, also had enough affinities with the Cluniac material to aid in understanding them.[14]

As for interpretive frameworks, two works published in 1930 seemed to form a baseline for understanding the Cluniac death ritual as a particularly revealing artefact of medieval monasticism and the Latin liturgy. The first was an essay on the death of a monk by Dom Louis Gougaud that situated the Cluniac death rituals squarely within the context of Benedictine spirituality.[15] The other was a book by a German scholar on how remembering the dead at Cluny connected the monastic community to the world outside its walls.[16] By the time I started working on the subject, the latter approach had gained real traction in

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12 *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. Marquard Herrgott (Paris: Osmont, 1726); see also Saurette, 'Excavating and Renovating Ancient Texts', 105–7.

13 Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, 2nd edn., 4 vols. (Antwerp: Joannis Baptistae de la Bry, 1736–38; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969). Though I did not know of it at the time, Aimé-Georges Martimort's *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène: étude codicologique*, Studi e Testi 279 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978), which identifies Martène's vague references to his manuscript sources wherever possible, had already made his collection much more valuable to liturgical scholars, who could now in most cases accurately identify the date and provenance of the ritual materials that he had collected all over Europe.

14 *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. John Wickham Legg, 3 vols., HBS 1, 5, 12 (London: HBS, 1891, 1893, 1897).

15 'The Death of a Monk', in Louis Gougaud, *Anciennes coutumes claustrales* (Ligugé: Abbaye Saint-Martin, 1930).

16 Willibald Jorden, *Das cluniazensische Totengedächtniswesen vornehmlich unter den drei ersten Äbten Berno, Odo und Aymard (910–954), Zugleich ein Beitrag zu den cluniazensischen Traditionsurkunden*, Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie 15 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1930).

German scholarship thanks to the work of Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch on liturgical commemoration of the dead.[17] There was something else in the air, though, for the French scholar Philippe Ariès had just laid the foundations for the history of death as a field of historical investigation with the publication of a series of lectures given in 1973 and a monograph that appeared in 1977.[18] Ariès associated each major period of European history, from the early Middle Ages to the present, with a distinct 'attitude toward death'. He called the attitude that prevailed before the twelfth century 'tamed death' (*la mort apprivoisée*). In accordance with this attitude, people accepted death as a natural part of life, anticipating and facing it with calm acceptance. Dying persons directed the ritual action that accompanied their own deaths by drawing on a common stock of gestures and utterances visible in literary texts such as the epic *Song of Roland* and the romance of *Tristan and Iseult*.[19]

Such secondary sources allowed me to situate the response to death and dying at Cluny within both the immediate context of medieval Benedictine monasticism and the more general context of European cultural history. Cluniac spirituality was expressed almost entirely through the liturgy: the monks of Cluny were not scholars or contemplatives; they devoted most of each day to communal prayer and chant, their whole lives long. When a death occurred in the community, they drew on every tool in their arsenal of prayer and gesture, sacrament and song, to ensure the safe and successful passage of a brother's soul from this life to the next. When a monk was dying, the whole community was meant to gather in the chapter house for a mutual confession and absolution, to erase any spiritual or psychological impediments to a successful passing. They were to come together again in the infirmary for a final anointing (not yet defined as the sacrament of extreme unction) and then again to attend their brother's death, even if it meant gathering in the infirmary multiple times when his death seemed imminent. After spending the night in constant vigil over his corpse, they held a funeral mass, procession and burial service. They prayed and chanted before, during and after his death, while preparing the corpse for burial, when moving it into the church and then towards the grave, and daily thereafter for a month, constantly petitioning the heavenly court to receive their dead

17 Two of the foundational studies appeared in the first issue of a new journal that would become the flagship for scholarship on this subject: Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, 'Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): 365–405; and Joachim Wollasch, 'Ein cluniacensisches Totenbuch aus der Zeit Abt Hugos von Cluny', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): 406–43.

18 Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes towards Death*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974). I did not learn about his book, *L'homme devant le mort* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1977), until the publication of an English translation by Helen Weaver, as *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Knopf, 1981).

19 Ariès, *Western Attitudes*, 1–25, and *The Hour of Our Death*, 5–28.

brother into the community of saints. Fearing to presume on God's judgement, they inscribed their brother's name in their necrology, to be recalled each year on the anniversary of his death, so he would not be forgotten, whatever his place in the afterlife.

As much as the death ritual at Cluny reflected Benedictine monastic spirituality, it also fitted Ariès' model of a 'tamed death'. A dying monk himself set the ritual process in motion when he sensed the approach of death and much of what followed resonated with the representations of dying in medieval literature discussed by Ariès. It made sense that secular and sacred texts would concur if 'tamed death' was truly a cultural constant in medieval Europe.

The Medieval Latin Death Ritual from Its Origins to the Tenth Century

When it came time to choose a topic for a dissertation, I first imagined a study of rituals and discourses around death and dying from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, with special attention to canon law. A year's work on Gratian's *Decretum*, the mid-twelfth-century schoolbook also known as the *Concordia discordantium canonum* (The Harmony of Discordant Canons), ended, however, in frustration.[20] There was interesting material there, drawn from councils and other ecclesiastical sources dating back to Christian antiquity, but it did not suggest a narrative or analytical approach other than the reception and use of the past by High Medieval lawyers.[21] Fortunately, Professor Gerard Caspary directed my attention to liturgical sources and anthropological understandings of ritual.[22] I could not have been given better advice. As I had learned, the scientific study of the Christian liturgy was a very old field, having emerged in the course of the debates between Protestants and Catholics in the sixteenth century. Since then, Christian scholars had collected and catalogued ancient and medieval manuscripts, edited the most important of them, and written extensively on

[20] The most accessible edition of Gratian's text is *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. Emil Friedberg, Corpus iuris canonici 1 (Leipzig, 1879), an online version of which is available through the Bavarian State Library at http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/online/angebot, accessed 7 June 2013.

[21] The work on the section of the *Decretum* concerned with death did eventually become the basis of the essay 'Gratian's Thirteenth Case and the Composition of the *Decretum*', which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Manlio Bellomo and Orazio Condorelli, Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C: Subsidia 12 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), 119–29.

[22] For a sense of Professor Caspary as scholar and teacher see his *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) and the memorial minute presented to the University of California, Berkeley, faculty senate, available at http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/senate/inmemoriam/gerardernestcaspary.html, accessed 7 June 2013.

the history of the mass and the major sacraments. What they had not done, though, was to look at that history dispassionately, outside of theology and arguments over the correctness of one or another form of ritual behaviour. That is where anthropology came in. Editions of liturgical texts would tell me what Christians thought should be done around deathbeds, at funerals and tombs; anthropological theory promised to make sense of it as human behaviour.

Following Professor Caspary's advice, I began looking for the origins of rites for the dying and the dead in Latin Christianity. The best sources were the so-called sacramentaries – mass books, essentially, with prayers for different Sundays and feasts – which came over time to include material on occasional rites as well, such as deathbed penance, anointing and funerals. The Bobbio Missal is a complex manuscript written or compiled in the Rhône Valley, possibly at Vienne c. 700, and marked by just about every early medieval liturgical tradition – Gallican (that is, French), Roman, North Italian, Visigothic and Irish. It was available in an early twentieth-century edition by the great American palaeographer Elias A. Lowe, published by the Henry Bradshaw Society.[23] Another eighth-century text, the Irish Stowe Missal, had appeared in the same series in 1915.[24] Access to the early Spanish (Visigothic) liturgy was possible thanks to the early twentieth-century editorial labours of Dom Marius Férotin and a just-published edition of a Spanish priest's manual.[25] In 1956, a team of Benedictines led by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg had published an edition of the oldest so-called Roman sacramentary, the *Sacramentarium Veronense* or 'Leonine Sacramentary', a private collection of masses traditionally ascribed to Pope Leo I, as the first in an important series of early liturgical sources sponsored by the Vatican.[26] The team followed up over the next five years with editions of the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary, another ostensibly Roman book, and three Gallican missals, all of which contained, in

[23] *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-Book*, ed. E.A. Lowe and J. Wickham Legg, HBS 53 (London: HBS, 1917), facsimile; 58 (1920) text; and 61 (1924) notes and studies, with A. Wilmart and H.A. Wilson. See also Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens, eds., *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and my review of that volume in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 105 (2006): 345–47.

[24] *The Stowe Missal*, ed. George F. Warner, HBS 32 (London: HBS, 1915); and see now Sven Meeder, 'The Early Irish Stowe Missal's Destination and Function', *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005): 179–94, which argues that it was written for an itinerant priest. (I thank Sarah Hamilton for this citation.)

[25] *Le liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. Marius Férotin, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica 5 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904; repr. with bibliographical supplement on the Spanish liturgy, Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1996); *Liber ordinum sacerdotal*, ed. José Janini, Studia Silensia (Silos: Abadia de Silos, 1981).

[26] *Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer and Petrus Siffren, RED series maior, fontes 1 (Rome: Herder, 1956); 2nd edn. 1966, 3rd edn. 1978.

fact, a mix of Roman and Gallican materials, which made them more complex, but also more interesting.[27] During the same years, one member, Petrus Siffrin, produced concordances to the material in those editions, which greatly facilitated their comparative study.[28] The year of 1961 also saw the completion of Michel Andrieu's multi-volume edition of what he considered to be the surviving *ordines* used in the city of Rome in the early Middle Ages, texts containing the rubrics for the Roman mass, baptism, ordination and other rites, including one for funerals that began at the deathbed (*Ordo* 49).[29] I also made liberal use of Father Damien Sicard's 1978 study of the Latin liturgy of death and dying up to the ninth century.[30] With these sources and tools, I was able to trace what was Roman and what was Gallican in the liturgical books in circulation in eighth-century Francia and compare it to Irish and Visigothic materials.

The most recent work, however, was on the sacramentaries associated with the liturgical reforms of the Carolingian court around Charlemagne. They fell into two groups: a group of manuscripts known to modern historians as the eighth-century Gelasians and another comprising copies of a massbook sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I (known as the Gregorian Sacramentary or Hadrianum). Together, they spawned a large body of books over the course of the ninth century known as 'mixed Gregorians'. The eighth-century Gelasians may or may not have been a response to the inadequacy of the Hadrianum, which was too closely tied to the papal custom of performing mass at different churches in Rome over the course of the liturgical year to be of general use in Carolingian Francia, but they clearly shared a tendency to collect prayers and rites missing from the book sent by the pope. Recent editions of important examples of the genre, the sacramentaries of Rheinau, Gellone and Autun, supplied evidence of some key ritual innovations around the deathbed in the years just before and after 800.[31]

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27 *Missale Francorum*, RED series maior, fontes 2 (Rome: Herder, 1957); *Missale Gallicanum vetus*, RED series maior, fontes 3 (Rome: Herder, 1958); *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, RED series maior, fontes 4 (Rome: Herder, 1960), 2nd edn. 1968, 3rd edn. 1981; *Missale Gothicum*, RED series maior, fontes 5 (Rome: Herder, 1961).

28 Petrus Siffrin, *Konkordanztabellen zu den römischen lateinischen Sakramentarien*, 3 vols., RED series minor 4–6 (Rome: Herder, 1958–61).

29 *OR*. For *Ordo* 49 see *OR* 4:523–30. On Andrieu's endeavours see also the discussion by Henry Parkes in Chapter 4 above.

30 Damien Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 63 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978).

31 *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense*, ed. Anton Hänggi and Alfons Schönherr, SF 15 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1970); *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. Antoine Dumas, CCSL 159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), originally from Northern France; and *Liber sacramentorum Augustudonensis*, ed. Odilo Heiming, CCSL 159B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984).

Tracing developments over the course of the ninth century in even greater detail was made possible thanks to another extraordinary project. This was an edition by the French Benedictine Jean Deshusses of the Hadrianum and its famous Supplement, the first attempt to improve the usefulness of the papal book itself by adding prayers and ritual materials from other liturgical traditions.[32] Long thought to have been the work of Charlemagne's liturgical advisor, Alcuin of York, instead the Supplement was, according to Deshusses, the creation of Benedict of Aniane, who served in that capacity for Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious.[33] Deshusses added to his edition of the Hadrianum+Supplement two volumes of material that eventually accreted to the main text in the mixed Gregorian sacramentaries of the later ninth century.[34] The third volume was particularly important for me because the mixed Gregorians regularly included full ritual orders for deathbed penance, visiting and anointing the sick and dying, and funerals. Along with editions of the prayers and *ordines*, Deshusses also included detailed descriptions of some fifty liturgical manuscripts, creating a research tool with the features of both a manuscript catalogue and a source of manuscript content.[35] Some of the findings that he published separately were also of particular value to my project. His identification of Benedict of Aniane as the author of the Supplement to the Hadrianum, for example, made sense of the Visigothic elements in some of its prayers for death and burial because Benedict was himself a Goth.[36] It also suggested Benedict was the author of a rite for anointing the sick which was designed to direct anointing away from the dying, in line with certain tendencies of Carolingian liturgical reform.[37]

See also Bernard Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary: A Study in Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

32 *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. Jean Deshusses, 1: *Le sacramentaire, le supplément d'Aniane*, SF 16 (Fribourg: Editions Universitaire, 1971; 3rd revised and corrected edn. 1992).

33 Jean Deshusses, 'Le "Supplément" au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou Benoît de Aniane?' *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 9 (1965): 48–71.

34 *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. Jean Deshusses, 2: *Textes complémentaires pour la messe*, SF 24 (1979; 2nd edn. 1988); and 3: *Textes complémentaires divers*, SF 28 (1982; 2nd edn. 1992).

35 As a consequence, Deshusses's volumes provided more authoritative information on the manuscripts he utilized than the most important catalogue of early liturgical mansuscripts to date, Klaus Gamber's *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, SF subsidia 1, 2nd edn. (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1968).

36 The 'Spanish symptoms' in the Supplement had first been noted by Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 168.

37 Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 138–54.

Deshusses's work made it possible to trace ritual developments concerning death and dying in the ninth century in ways that would have been nearly impossible otherwise. I now had a series of texts on the same subject matter spanning some four hundred years. Most importantly, Deshusses's identification of seven key mixed Gregorian manuscripts as the work of the scriptorium of the abbey of Saint-Amand offered a series of similar texts created in one place over twenty-five years (between 851 and 877).[38] Close analysis of their presentation of the rites for the dying and the dead revealed a clear pattern of experimentation as the liturgists of Saint-Amand adapted Benedict of Aniane's anointing ritual for use with the dying and produced a synthesis that marked the third quarter of the ninth century as the point in time when the medieval Latin death ritual coalesced into its more or less final form.[39]

In general, the secondary literature on these subjects was, not surprisingly, organized in relation to the different sacraments involved. Liturgical scholars, almost exclusively monks and priests, wrote on the history of deathbed baptism, penance or communion, extreme unction, and funeral masses and ceremonies but did not consider them as constituent pieces of a larger ritual process. Study of the sacraments had been given a great impetus by the liturgical reforms associated with the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). The council's reform agenda, however, revived the liturgiological debate between Catholics and Protestants over the scriptural or Roman bases of particular ritual acts. Thus scholarship on early medieval rites tended to focus on Roman sources over Insular, Spanish, North Italian or Gallican ones and to assume that the central traditions were always Roman.[40] This tendency was particularly notable in Damien Sicard's study, which may reflect his role as a counsellor on liturgical reform at Vatican II, which he had attended as a young priest with his diocesan superior, the bishop of Montpellier.[41] The Roman *ordo* for the dying and the dead was the standard against which all others were measured.

Seeking an approach outside of this ecclesiastical tradition from which to get a different purchase on the subject led me to the anthropological notion of rites of passage first articulated by Arnold van Gennep in the early twentieth century and revived in the 1960s and 1970s by cultural anthropologists like Victor Turner.[42] While I made some use of van Gennep's and Turner's analyses

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38 Jean Deshusses, 'Chronologie des grands sacramentaires de Saint-Amand', *Revue bénédictine* 87 (1977): 230–37; and 'Encore des sacramentaires de Saint-Amand', *Revue bénédictine* 89 (1979): 310–12.

39 Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 169–85.

40 See Helen Gittos's chapter in this volume.

41 See the author biography on the website of the publisher Les Editions du Cerf (Paris), http://www.editionsducerf.fr/html/fiche/ficheauteur.asp?n_aut=4247, accessed 7 June 2013.

42 Arnold van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Victor Turner, 'Betwixt and Between: The Liminal

of the particular character of the pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal phases of rites of passage, the real key for me was the structure itself. On the one hand, it suggested that the Latin liturgical traditions of the early Middle Ages were local products of a universal human tendency to organize rites of passage in particular ways. On the other, it suggested a framework for tracking change over time in the body of similar sources at my disposal.[43] I could follow the separate histories of rites in preparation for death (anointing the sick and dying, deathbed penance and communion), for the transition from this life to the next (commendation of the soul at death, funeral and burial), and for the incorporation of the soul into the other world (liturgical commemoration of the dead), with an eye to when and how they coalesced into a single ritual process.

This led to two surprising findings. The first was how long it took Latin Christianity to fully ritualize death as a rite of passage. In spite of the fact that the religion was rooted in the death and resurrection of Christ (or perhaps because of it), little attention was paid to ritual care of the dying or the dead before the fourth and fifth centuries. Baptized Christians in good standing with the church were assured salvation. They neither needed nor demanded ritual care before or after death. The multiple 'Christianities' of the early Middle Ages, however, spawned a diverse set of responses to death, dying and the dead, which were not synthesized into a common ritual structure until the later ninth century.[44] The second surprise was that it was actually the failed Carolingian drive to 'Romanize' the liturgy in the Frankish Empire that created the conditions for that synthesis. Copies of the 'Gregorian' sacramentary of Pope Hadrian became the carrier first for the non-Roman Frankish and Visigothic prayers and rites in the Supplement and then, in the mixed Gregorians, for even more wide-ranging materials, which gained acceptance and influence precisely because they appeared in books purported to be papal and Roman.[45] It was just such *ordines* that the liturgists of Saint-Amand used to come up with a ritual process that had real staying power because it both

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Period in Rites de Passage', in Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967); Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974); and, Turner with Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

[43] See also pp. 24–25.

[44] See, in general, Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith, ed., *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and, in particular, my essay on 'Birth and Death' at 383–98.

[45] Such *ordines* could also circulate independently; see, for example, Frederick S. Paxton, '*Bonus liber*: A Late Carolingian Clerical Manual from Lorsch (Bibliotheca Vaticana Ms Pal. lat. 485)', in *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History Dedicated to Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A.J. Tibbetts, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 1 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 1–30. See also p. 24 in this book.

expressed every nuance of Christian hope and anxiety in the face of death and took the form of a fully realized rite of passage. Thus, thanks to the work of generations of codicologists, palaeographers, editors and anthropologists, I was able to piece together a history of the medieval Latin death ritual that culminated in the decades just preceding the foundation of Cluny in the year 910. I also learned that Philippe Ariès had been wrong. Christians did not die the way they did in medieval literary texts because they were in touch with some primordial European attitude towards death, but because they had been taught to do so by the liturgists of the Christian church.

Reconstructing the Cluniac Death Ritual on the Basis of Bernard's Customary

Not long afterwards I got my own comeuppance: an encounter with a different type of primary source, the *Life* (or *Vita*) of Hathumoda, abbess of a house of canonesses at Gandersheim (Germany). Shortly after Hathumoda's death in 875, a monk from a nearby Benedictine monastery, Agius of Corvey, who was her confessor and confidante, wrote a spiritual biography and poem of consolation for her surviving sisters.[46] I wondered whether or not Hathumoda's *Vita* featured the Latin Christian death ritual in the form that I had asserted was just then taking shape in the Carolingian realms. It did, as it turned out, just as I had hoped, but as a relatively minor part of a larger story about fear of death and nearly inconsolable grief. In Agius's telling, ritual action was less important than the psychological and spiritual struggles of people trying to come to terms with death in a newly Christianized culture. The death ritual may have found its more or less final form, it seems, but it did not put an end to the need for consolation in the face of death.

At the same time, as it happened, I was teaching the history of death to students preparing to comfort the dying with music in the medieval ecclesiastical modes (as opposed to modern key signatures) played on gothic harps.[47] The students were interested in the Cluniac death ritual as a historical precedent for their work, but found it hard to assess it in the form in which I had originally presented it. They related more to the story of Hathumoda's passing because it focused so clearly on care of the dying and consoling the survivors. They were not satisfied with knowing only what Cluniac monks

[46] See Frederick S. Paxton, *Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony: The* Lives *of Liutbirga of Wendhausen and Hathumoda of Gandersheim* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009); and Julia M.H. Smith, 'The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe, c. 780–920', *Past and Present* 146 (February 1995): 3–37.

[47] Paxton, 'Listening to the Monks of Cluny', gives a short history of the new profession – music-thanatology – which the students were pursuing.

were supposed to do; they wanted to know what they actually said and sang, what it sounded like, if at all possible, and how it facilitated a 'blessed death'.[48] Their questions provided the impetus to return to the Cluniac death ritual with the aim of reconstructing it, translating the results into English, and reporting the new insights that emerged – a project that is now complete.[49]

Much had changed in the two decades since I had first worked on death and dying at Cluny. While there were still no modern editions of Bernard's or Ulrich's customaries, Herrgott's early modern edition of Bernard had become available in an affordable reprint from the publisher of the *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*.[50] More importantly, the CCM had produced critical editions of the earliest records of the customs of Cluny, from around the year 1000, and the so-called *Liber tramitis*, created for the Italian monastery of Farfa in the second quarter of the eleventh century.[51] With their help, I was able to uncover some of the ritual developments that had occurred between Cluny's founding in the early tenth century and the end of the eleventh, when Ulrich and Bernard wrote.[52]

As for the death ritual itself, I began with Ulrich's account, which was simpler and more straightforward than Bernard's, posting a draft reconstruction and translation online in 2002.[53] Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, who were at the time orchestrating a revival of scholarly interest in the Cluniac customaries, convinced me, however, of the value of Bernard's text as the basis for the reconstruction.[54] There were three reasons. First, like all his predecessors, Ulrich did not write his customary for Cluny itself, but for Abbot William of Hirsau, who wanted to reform the German monasteries under his

[48] See Therese Schroeder Sheker (the founder of music-thanatology), *Transitus: A Blessed Death in the Modern World* (Missoula, MT: St. Dunstan's Press, 2001).

[49] Frederick S. Paxton, *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages/Le rituel de la mort à Cluny au moyen âge central*, Disciplina monastica 9, fontes 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.)

[50] Edited by the German Benedictine Pius Engelbert (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1999); for the earlier edition, see above note 12.

[51] *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 7.2 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1983); *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, ed. Peter Dinter, CCM 10 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1980).

[52] Frederick S. Paxton, 'Death by Customary at Eleventh-Century Cluny', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day*, ed. Boynton and Cochelin, 297–318.

[53] The internet version of the reconstruction and translation according to Ulrich's customary is available through the website of the Institut für Frühmittelalterforschung at the Universität Münster: http://www.uni-muenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/Projekte/Cluny/BiblClun/index.html, accessed 7 June 2013.

[54] I do not know if they were responding directly to Joachim Wollasch's call for scholars to work on the liturgy of Cluny in 'Zur Erforschung Clunys', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 31 (1997): 32–45, but they were certainly in agreement with him about the importance and timeliness of the task.

influence along Cluniac lines. Bernard was the first Cluniac to write at and for Cluny itself, and the best manuscript of his customary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. latin 13875), while not an autograph, dates to the late eleventh century and contains evidence of regular use at Cluny during the early years of the twelfth century.[55] Second, while questions of priority remain unsolved, an in-depth analysis of the pre-mortem stage of the death ritual in the *Liber tramitis*, Ulrich and Bernard, suggested that Bernard took up his pen at least partially to correct Ulrich.[56] Finally, although Bernard's style is less direct than Ulrich's, his customary is much longer and reflects the care he took to get every detail right, so that there would be no arguments among the community over the customs of the house. This is particularly evident in his account of the death ritual, where he treats every possible response to a death interrupting the daily liturgical obligations of the community. While the prayers, chants, gestures and movements of the Cluniac death ritual are nearly identical in the two accounts, Bernard's has the greater claim on the attention of scholars who want to understand Cluny from the inside out, which was my ultimate goal.

Searching for the full texts of the prayers of the Cluniac death ritual was made easier by the work done in the previous stage of my research, since, as it turned out, the Cluniacs drew all but one of the prayers they used from the liturgical stock inherited from the mixed Gregorian sacramentaries of the ninth century. Three other massive publishing projects also played significant

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55 Isabelle Cochelin, 'Evolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à partir de l'étude de Bernard', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day*, ed. Boynton and Cochelin, 50–52. Boynton and Cochelin are preparing a semi-diplomatic edition of the Paris manuscript for the series Disciplina monastica. See *From Dead of Night to End of Day*, 7–9.

56 Paxton, 'Death by Customary', 304–8. Cf. Joachim Wollasch, 'Zur Verschriftlichung der klösterlichen Lebensgewohnheiten unter Abt Hugo von Cluny', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993): 317–49, who posited a common source behind both customaries, a position taken up by his student Burkhardt Tutsch, in 'Die Consuetudines Bernhards und Ulrichs von Cluny im Spiegel ihrer handschriftlichen Überlieferung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 248–93; and Tutsch, *Studien zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Consuetudines Ulrichs von Cluny*, Vita Regularis 6 (Münster: LIT, 1998), 41–42. Isabelle Cochelin has rejected that notion and argued cogently for the priority of Ulrich in 'Peut-on parler de noviciat à Cluny pour les Xe–XIe siècles?' *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 9, no. 70 (1998): 17–52; 'Le pour qui et le pourquoi (des manuscrits) des coutumiers clunisiens', in *Ad libros! Mélanges d'études médiévales offerts à Denise Angers et Claude Poulin*, eds. J.-F. Cottier, Martin Gravel and Sébastien Rossignol (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010), 121–38; and 'Appendix: The Relation between the Last Cluniac Customaries, *Udal* and *Bern*', in *Consuetudines et Regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, eds., Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines Disciplina monastica 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

roles in this stage of my research: a concordance to the prayers in Deshusses's three volumes of material in the ninth-century Gregorian sacramentaries,[57] the *Corpus orationem*, which contains editions and source information on many of the prayers contained in medieval ritual books,[58] and the *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, which identifies antiphons and related chant pieces in manuscript sources from throughout the Middle Ages.[59] An edition of a ritual book clearly derived from Ulrich's customary provided contemporary wording for many of the prayers.[60] When it came to the psalms, however, and occasional scriptural passages embedded in the spoken or sung material, I turned to the Latin Vulgate text in use at Cluny, as elsewhere in medieval Europe.[61]

In accordance with the editorial principles of the series in which the reconstruction was to appear, the Latin text of the death ritual had to be accompanied by a French as well as an English translation. After transcribing Bernard's description from the manuscript, and expanding its many abbreviations (in effect creating a semi-diplomatic edition of it), I used the sources cited above to fill out the text of the prayers and chants. Except for scriptural passages, Isabelle Cochelin and I independently translated the results into French and English and then reviewed everything in all three languages, trying to get them to reflect each other as closely as possible. For scripture I used an updated version of the only English translation from the Vulgate, the seventeenth-century Douay-

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57 Jean Deshusses and Benoît Darragon, *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands sacramentaires*, SF subsidia 9–14, 6 vols. (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1982–83).

58 *Corpus orationum*, eds. Eugene Moeller and Jean-Marie Clément, completed by Bertrand Coppieters 't Wallant, 13 vols., CCSL160 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993–2003).

59 *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, 6 vols., RED series maior, fontes 7–12 (Rome: Herder, 1963–79). The material is now also available online through *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/, accessed 7 June 2013. I had been ignorant of this essential resource the first time around, relying instead on Carolus (Karl) Marbach, *Carmina scripturarum, scilicet Antiphonas et Responsoria ex sacra scripturae fonte in libros liturgicos* (Strasbourg: F.-X. Le Roux, 1907; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963).

60 *Das Rheinauer Rituale (Zürich Rh 114, Anfang 12. Jh.)*, ed. Gebhard Hürlimann, SF 5 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1959), another important source I had previously missed.

61 *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. B. Fischer et al., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994; see also now *The Vulgate Bible*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010–, six vols. to date). For a fully searchable open source online edition, see *Biblia sacra juxta vulgatam clementinam*, editio electronica, Michael Tweedale (London: http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/html/index.html, 2005), accessed 7 June 2013.

Rheims Bible.[62] The French was provided by Louis-Claude Fillion's nineteenth-century translation.[63]

While I still see the value of understanding the Cluniac death ritual as a rite of passage – a subset of common human patterns of behaviour and belief – the new material supported a much thicker description of the ritual process, with less attention to the significance of its overall structure and more to the Christian and Benedictine spiritualities at its heart – and the precise details of its intended performance. Thanks to recent work by archaeologists and architectural historians, it was possible to follow the death ritual step by step through the sacred space of the monastic complex at Cluny, imagining it as a performance in real time.[64] The death ritual was a multi-media event of highly choreographed movements, sounds and smells performed by men who dedicated their whole lives to the liturgy. The prayers and chants, which are always thematically related and often play out as little liturgical dramas, expressed the core beliefs of Christianity as practised by Benedictine monks, balancing fear of God's judgement with faith in His salvation in the face of death. Reconstructing the words of the chants and prayers that Bernard thought the monks should sing and speak showed exactly how they had honed their liturgical tools for the all-important service of intercession at the heavenly court, an activity they pursued for each other, above all, but also for their patrons and benefactors and for all the faithful departed, on a daily basis. The reconstruction also revealed the place of death, dying and the dead in the hierarchy of the sacred at Cluny. For the

[62] *Holy Bible*, Catholic Public Domain Version, Based on the Douay-Rheims version, ed. and trans. Ronald L. Conte, Jr., at http://www.sacredbible.org/index.htm, accessed 7 June 2013. The original version is available as *Holy Bible*, Douay-Rheims version (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1899), and online at http://www.biblegateway.com/, accessed 17 June 2013, and in *The Vulgate Bible*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, which provides the English of Douay-Rheims as a facing-page translation of the Vulgate text.

[63] *La sainte Bible*, trans. Louis-Claude Fillion (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1889), editio electronica, Editions Magnificat, http://www.magnificat.ca/textes/, accessed 7 June 2013.

[64] See Carolyn Marino Malone's study in this volume and Neil Stratford, 'Les bâtiments de l'abbaye de Cluny à l'époque médiévale: Etat des questions', *Bulletin monumental* 150 (1992): 383–411; and, in particular Anne Baud, 'La place des morts dans l'abbaye de cluny, état de la question', *Archéologie mediévale* 29 (2000): 99–114; and Baud, *Cluny, un grand chantier médiéval au cœur de l'Europe* (Paris: Picard, 2003); also Anne Baud and Gilles Rollier, 'Liturgie et espace monastique à Cluny à la lecture du *Liber tramitis*, '*descriptione monasterii*' et données archéologiques', in *Espace ecclesial et liturgie au moyen âge*, ed. Anne Baud (Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2010), 27–42; Kristina Krüger, 'Architecture and Liturgical Practice: The Cluniac *galilaea*', in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium* ed. Nigel Hiscock, International Medieval Research 10; Art History Subseries 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 138–59, and Krüger, 'Monastic Customs and Liturgy in the Light of the Architectural Evidence: A Case Study on Processions (Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries)', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day*, ed. Boynton and Cochelin, 191–220.

Cluniacs to adapt their tightly regulated schedule so that as many of them as possible could personally participate, before, during and after a death, indicates how important the death ritual was to the community as a whole. The many specifics provided by Bernard show that only the monks' obligations to the high altar – daily mass and the regular hours – ranked above the death ritual in importance. Finally, the reconstructed ritual provided new insights into the hierarchical structure of the monastic community, of seniors over juniors, oblates over converts, and perfected 'mouth men', whose control of their voices may have signalled an enhanced masculinity vis-à-vis the 'body men' whose lack of control placed them lower in the monastic gender hierarchy, toward the status of boys and women.[65]

Looking at the Cluniac death ritual as a whole, what seems most interesting now is its connection to a larger cultural phenomenon, the 'economy of salvation', in which wealth was exchanged for prayers and other forms of intercession for the dead, which involved almost everyone in medieval society.[66] Before the twelfth century, monks were almost the exclusive brokers of the economy of salvation, and the monks of Cluny were second to none. They had the greatest reputation for comforting souls in the afterlife, even snatching them from the very jaws of hell. Because of this, they received the most gifts of any contemporary monastic community, enough to build the largest and most beautiful church in western Christendom, from which prayers for the salvation of the dead, honed in the ritual response to death itself, rose heavenwards, almost without pause, throughout the medieval centuries.[67]

The story of my journey from a monastic text and the ritual it preserved to their deep history and back again is admittedly idiosyncratic, but I hope of some value to scholars working or thinking about working with medieval liturgical

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[65] Lynda L. Coon, *Dark Ages Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[66] Paxton, 'Birth and Death'(above, n.44); *The Death Ritual at Cluny in the Central Middle Ages*, 15–52; and Paxton, 'The Early Growth of the Medieval Economy of Salvation in Latin Christianity', in *Death in Jewish Life: Burial and Mourning Customs among the Jews of Europe and nearby Communities*, eds. Stefan Reif, Andreas Lenhardt and Avriel Bar-Levav, Studia Judaica 78 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 17–41.

[67] Dominique Iogna-Prat took up this theme in the 1990s in such works as 'Les morts dans la comptabilité céleste des Clunisiens de l'an mil', in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: royaume capétien et Lotharingie. Actes du colloque international 'Hugues Capet 987–1987. La France de l'an mil'. Auxerre, 26–27 juin, Metz, 11–12 septembre 1987*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), 55–69; English translation: 'The Dead in the Celestial Bookkeeping of the Cluniac Monks Around the Year 1000', in *Debating the Middle Ages*, ed. Lester K. Little and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 340–62; and Iogna-Prat, 'Des morts très spéciaux aux morts ordinaires: le pastorale funéraire clunisienne (XIe–XIIe siècles)', *Médiévales* 31 (1996): 79–91.

sources. It shows the effects on fields traditionally dominated by professional religious of bringing monastic and liturgical studies into dialogue with cultural history and social anthropology. It also highlights the debt that anyone who wants to engage in such dialogue owes to those monastic and priestly scholars whose codicological and editorial efforts over four centuries have made much of the vast manuscript sources for the medieval liturgy available for scholarly use. Finally, it illustrates the particular value of moving back and forth between ritual studies, which can anchor specific liturgical remains in the wider context of human behaviour, and liturgy, which reveals the expressions of religious belief that shape rituals at specific times and places.

Chapter 3
Approaches to Early Medieval Music and Rites

William T. Flynn

Mind the Gap: Bridging Disciplinary Differences

The publication, twenty years ago, of David Hiley's *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* is a good starting-point for assessing the work being done by musicologists and its relationship to other work on ecclesiastical ceremonies and rites.[1] Intended to be introductory, it nevertheless contains a large bibliography (sixty-four pages) and text of nearly seven hundred pages, and, some two decades later, it is still the essential synthesis of twentieth-century scholarship on Western chant. The coverage of the book suggests that earlier musicologists tended to defer to liturgical scholars and theologians for basic historical understanding of medieval rites. The book's summary of the work of liturgical scholars takes up only the first forty-six pages, and the rites (baptism, confirmation, ordination, coronation, marriage, burial, and dedication) are given a mere three pages without further bibliographic references, presumably for the reason that 'not all of these services require the performance of music as an essential element'.[2] Much more attention is given to two areas: musicologists first focus on the fundamental work of identifying, inventorying and editing the sources. This has to be accomplished at a level of detail necessary to enable careful analysis of individual genres of chant (such as Introit, Offertory, Communion and each item of the mass proper, as well as the Responsories, and antiphons of the office). Studies of individual genres (defined by a formal analysis of their linguistic and musical structures) then become the focus, since each has a complex history of its own, and the several families of early chant have differing forms within the same portions of the mass and office. The book's historical discussion concentrates on debates about the early history of the music up to the first fully notated – though not pitch-secure – sources and then, in a section that anticipates the direction the field would turn in subsequent years, it summarizes scholarship on chant as it was practised and revised at specific institutions.

1 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
2 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 42.

Based on Hiley's summary, which I believe is reasonably comprehensive and fair, the contribution of musicology seems to have been curiously inattentive to the historical study of the rites in which music appeared. Questions of how chant functioned within particular rites seem to have been subordinated to others that could be answered by attending to the music alone, often without consideration of the music's connections to the services and wider religious contexts that gave rise to it. Chant was thus treated somewhat reductively as part of a history of musical style that had a tendency to be co-opted into progressive evolutionary narratives which gave the impression of far greater ritual and musical uniformity than was the case. Musicologists, if they were to follow Willi Apel's famous and highly influential proposal to 'reconstruct a picture of the formative processes which led to the final stage of Gregorian chant, as it appears in the earliest manuscripts', had to accept the supposition that the surviving manuscripts represented some kind of relatively closed and very consistent and uniform canon, and the pinnacle of a musical development.[3] Hiley's own remarks throughout his *Western Plainchant* display a thorough awareness of this wider problem, but the rigorous focus on music as the object of study creates very little space in a large book for consideration of the context for which the music was destined by its creators.[4]

Not long after Hiley's book was published, Barbara Haggh-Huglo noted a similar disconnection between the study of church music and church history, from the perspective of someone interested in medieval polyphony.[5] The principal argument of her article is that musicologists have been extraordinarily selective in the kinds of historical sources that they pay attention to, favouring, in addition to the musical sources themselves, those that record the administrative transactions of institutions (such as account books) that yield information about musicians, but neglecting others such as cartularies, obits, wills, foundation charters and narratives. As Haggh-Huglo points out, the value of these sources has often been demonstrated by art historians, who have found in them information on the patronage of books, artworks and architecture. By paying little attention to such evidence, musicologists are in danger of distorting the history of music, because they may miss many references to the music itself (whether still extant or lost), its principal patrons, its religious purposes, and the shifting attitudes towards its

[3] Willi Apel's chapter title is particularly revealing: 'Conclusion: Prolegomena to a History of Gregorian Style', in his *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 507–15.

[4] Typical of his balanced and cautious approach is Hiley's remark that 'a medieval source records only what was understood to be "right" at a particular place and time' (*Western Plainchant*, 400).

[5] Barbara Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica* 68 (1996): 87–128.

use in rites. All of these sources may help one consider in what circumstances and why rites were continually altered. For Haggh-Huglo a more broadly conceived form of archival research is needed to give direction to historical musicology. As she suggests, this would help musicologists make connections with medievalists in allied fields.

Hiley's caveats about musical and ritual diversity and Haggh-Huglo's admonition concerning the need to use a wider variety of documentary sources demonstrate that musicologists themselves were already raising questions two decades ago about how their discipline might come into better dialogue with other medievalists. Haggh-Huglo's article defines the gap in understanding between musicologists and ecclesiastical historians as a kind of blindness to the study of religious history in general. All of the neglected sources she mentions are related to the mechanics of instituting, maintaining and performing ecclesiastical rituals, and so ought to be of key interest to historians of the liturgy. The music that medieval benefactors endowed gave these rituals varying degrees of solemnity and fullness that affected both their form and their content. The music within such bespoke rites was often passed down, but it was also continually adapted and sometimes extensively renewed. Therefore, unless the music is firmly situated within wider spheres of inquiry into the adaptation of rites, little progress can be made in understanding how benefactors, church leaders and musicians all provoked and reacted to ritual change.

However, this gap in understanding flows in both directions: the close connection in the West between music and rite should make it equally difficult for other medievalists to ignore the work of musicologists – even those who have paid closer attention to the musical objects that they uncover than to that music's ritual context. Aside from the basic historical data that can be uncovered by paying attention to musical palaeography and the transmission and distribution of repertories, paying specific attention to the musical content of a rite in performance (to the extent that it is possible to recreate or imagine) provides an alternative reading of texts for that rite that must be considered essential to its understanding. By taking the music of a rite into account one begins to consider questions concerning its effect on a rite's performance and delivery, and therefore on its rhetoric and its diverse audiences.[6]

This gap between ecclesiastical historians and musicologists has since been addressed in many productive ways, but the results are still often couched in intimidating layers of technical language and specialized analysis of both music and medieval ritual that sometimes hide the fact that the common ground shared by all medievalists covers a much greater area than their disciplinary allotments.

[6] These are research questions that have dominated my own work; see William T. Flynn, *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, MD and London: Scarecrow Press, 1999).

We are all working with material sources, especially manuscripts, that give us our sole access to the Middle Ages. The remainder of this chapter therefore focuses on introducing a personal, but hopefully representative, selection of musicological studies and resources, both completed and emerging, that seem to me to bridge – or show greatest potential for bridging – the gap; all of them are the fruits of the last twenty years of internal criticism amongst musicologists concerned about the directions taken by their own discipline.

Recent Approaches to Sources

It is unlikely that musicologists will ever give up the search for the origin of Gregorian chant, but this search is no longer dominated, as it was during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by the need to establish one authentic earliest version of Gregorian chant as it was transmitted from Rome to the Carolingians. Even if one accepts the theory that there was a period of Frankish development and a re-transmission back to Rome, the gradual accumulation of evidence has proved that no single version of chant exists in the written record that represents an original authoritative tradition. The transmission of the chants that eventually formed a corpus of fairly stable texts and melodies and that is now called 'Gregorian' was a mixed literate and oral phenomenon in which a variety of notations conveyed differing amounts of musical information. The least musical information is conveyed by references to partial text (*incipits* or even references that merely list the subject matter to be used). The most information is conveyed by fully written-out texts with at least one kind of music notation (some of which convey information primarily about musical gesture and delivery, and others of which convey information primarily about pitch). The early text-only transmissions differ substantively from each other though the critical editions obscure this.[7] Later notated transmissions show at most a correspondence of about 80–90 per cent of melodic content, unless one makes assumptions that dissimilar notational signs have exactly the same melodic meaning when occurring in similar musical contexts.[8] Although the consensus that a core repertory of Roman-Frankish chant was transmitted with some stability has not broken down, there is at present little agreement on the direction(s) of the transmission and its chronology: what exists are late

7 See remarks on Hesbert's editions below, 61–62.

8 This is the assumption guiding much of Eugène Cardine's *Gregorian Semiology*, trans. Robert M. Fowels (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Solesmes, 1982). Although *Gregorian Semiology* has nearly reached classic status, Óscar Octavio Mascareñas Garza demonstrates the assumptions behind the approach and its tendency towards uniformity instead of 'différence' in 'Exposing the *Play* in Gregorian Chant: The Manuscript as an *Opening* of *Re-Presentation*' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2010).

ninth- and tenth-century fully notated manuscripts that encode similar musical gestures in differing though arguably related semiotic systems that scholars have assumed to record similar melodies.[9] Moreover, this limited consensus has been built without agreement on some fundamental questions that are logically prior: for example, there is currently no agreement about 'What constitutes a significant musical variant?' without which one cannot really state whether one melody is essentially the same or essentially different.[10]

Recently, musicologists' ideas of what might constitute the transmission of a Roman rite in the early Middle Ages have changed dramatically. They are no longer thinking solely that the rites were transmitted as a fundamentally distinct set of texts and melodies, but rather as checklists and guides for selecting good texts for specific feasts, and that the sending of teachers who could give instruction in a regional musical style was crucial.[11] For example, Susan Rankin's recent work on the liturgical florilegium in Alcuin's *De laude Dei* has demonstrated the eclectic mixture of office chants that may have been interpreted as 'Roman' (or at least Romanizing) before the Carolingian reforms. Her work on Carolingian sources themselves demonstrates that a long series of redactions, which probably involved multiple centres, produced the relative stability of the later ninth-century Gregorian repertory.[12] An important consequence of

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[9] The sixty years of scholarship that have led to a current agreement-to-disagree can best be traced in two volumes of reprinted essays collected by Thomas Forrest Kelly, ed., *Oral and Written Transmission in Chant* and *Chant and its Origins* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

[10] David G. Hughes has provided work towards a typology of variants; see especially 'The Implications of Variants for Chant Transmission', in *De musica et cantu: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), 65–73. Recent work by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy uses a statistical method combined with text-music analysis to give greater probability to their readings of pitch-insecure sources in *Music and Meaning in Old Hispanic Lenten Chants: Psalmi, Threni and Easter Vigil Canticles* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013). Craig Wright (discussing the intellectual context of the notation of Notre Dame polyphony) suggests that in his own scholarly past fundamental questions that 'we failed to ask – nor were encouraged to ask' might be reduced to the 'most basic question: What *is* this document that we see on the page?'; see his 'Quantification in Medieval Paris and How it Changed Western Music', in *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music in Honour of Thomas Forrest Kelly*, ed. Michael Scott Cuthbert, Sean Gallagher and Christoph Wolff (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 3–26 at 7.

[11] For one of the rare examples of such a teacher see Bede's, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 4.18 (pp. 388–91) on John the arch-chanter; for brief but illuminating remarks on him, see Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 269–74.

[12] Susan Rankin, 'Beyond the Boundaries of Roman-Frankish Chant: Alcuin's *De laude Dei* and Other Early Medieval Sources of Office Chants', in *City, Chant, and the Topography*

such work is that a largely tacit consensus about uniformity of early text-only transmissions of the Roman rite, established by René Hesbert's 1935 edition of the eighth- and ninth-century text-only transmissions of mass repertory, has now broken down.[13] This is for two main reasons, both exemplified by the recent work of Daniel DiCenso: first, by taking into account fragments unknown to (or neglected by) Hesbert, DiCenso proposes to bring together all of the earliest sources of Gregorian chant afresh.[14] Second, ideas about how to edit texts have changed. Editors are now likely to think that the editing of texts designed to convey music should have a different set of conventions from those designed for editing other types of texts.[15] DiCenso's proposed edition of early Gregorian chant sources promises to provide a music-critical analysis in which variants that might be considered insignificant in establishing a text's meaning (for example, transposition of phrases, omission or addition of adverbs or conjunctions) will be carefully examined for the melodic variants that they imply as mnemonic notations of music.

It would not be too strong to say that musicologists dealing with notated sources also accepted the bias of liturgical historians for sources that represented a complete repertory of Gregorian chant, and there has been a healthy turn towards abbreviated and fragmentary sources that give more variegated, although incomplete, pictures of the whole repertory. These neglected sources may helpfully be compared to the fuller and better-known sources to facilitate a thoroughgoing revision (and hopefully clarification) of the history of Carolingian (and later) transmissions of chant. While musicologists will

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of Early Music, 229–62. See also Jesse Billet, 'The Liturgy of the "Roman" Office in England from the Conversion to the Conquest', in *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas, c. 500–1400*, ed. Claudia Bolgia, Rosamond McKitterick and John Osborne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 84–110; and Susan Rankin, 'The Making of Carolingian Mass Chant Books', in *Quomodo cantabimus canticum*: *Studies in Honor of Edward H. Roesner*, ed. Rena Mueller and John Nadas, American Institute of Musicology Miscellanea 7 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2008), 37–63.

13 *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, edited by René-Jean Hesbert (Brussels: Vromant, 1935; repr. Rome: Herder, 1967).

14 DiCenso, 'Sacramentary-Antiphoners as Sources of Gregorian Chant in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2012). For the proposed new edition, see Daniel DiCenso's webpage: http://www.danieljdicenso.com where links to very brief project descriptions may be found.

15 The University of Stockholm project *Ars Edendi* (project director: Gunilla Iversen) focuses on recent developments in the editing of particular categories of medieval Latin texts, including liturgical texts: http://www.arsedendi.org (accessed 2 July 2014). Even liturgical rubrication can provide guides to interpretation that alter the readings of traditional text editors; see William T. Flynn, 'Reading Hildegard of Bingen's Antiphons for the 11,000 Virgin-Martyrs of Cologne: Rhetorical *Ductus* and Liturgical Rubrics', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 56 (2012): 171–89.

continue to discuss the earliest sources, the result of recent research suggests that they will not find any single, decisive moment of transmission of what later became known as the Roman rite, and that the continuing diversity within the families of rites that claim Roman origin will be considered more fully than it was in earlier scholarship.

When one comes to the later sources containing musical notations, it is fair to say that two areas of concern have dominated: first discovering and cataloguing the sources; and then producing editions suitable for the purpose of reading and analysing the sound of the music and/or for performing it. Since musicologists can only begin studying the music itself when they have decoded the manuscript witness (that is, when they have reconstructed from it the object of their study), it is not surprising that they have in general been slower to undertake detailed study of the manuscripts for the information these might yield about their production and use. Even though some textual scholars and historians have been engaged in such research, they have seldom treated manuscripts that contain mostly notated music. Recent editions, however, suggest that this tendency is changing. For example, Susan Rankin's commentary to her facsimile edition of the Winchester Troper (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 473) carefully indexes both text and music scribes, and in describing the notation reveals a great range of pitch-clarifying strategies, uncovered through painstaking palaeographical analysis.[16] Not only does this manuscript contain chants that were partially dually notated (where letter names of pitches provide some information), it also contains many pitch-clarifying neumes. Its carefully notated polyphonic lines interact with the chant lines in ways that can be interpreted with the help of music treatises. The edition provides essential material that expands and revises earlier scholarship, especially on the sound of the music and its historical context.

There is still extensive work to be done in all of the areas that have interested earlier musicologists – even basic indexed descriptions of many sources are still lacking. This is partly due to the tendency of palaeographers to mention merely that a source contains music notation (or even ignore it altogether in manuscripts dominated by text only). K.D. Hartzell's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* attempts to rectify these omissions for early medieval English manuscripts.[17] It will prove valuable, though it should not be used without reference to the review by Michael Gullick and Susan Rankin which supplies corrections, supplemental

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[16] *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Susan Rankin, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer and Bell, 2007).

[17] K.D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 containing Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press in association with the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 2006).

listings of manuscripts, and a critical evaluation of the information given on music palaeography.[18]

Chant scholars are now paying considerable attention to fragmentary sources, not only of texts that were intended to be performed musically, but also of music manuscripts themselves. One of the reasons that musicologists once found it convenient to think of Gregorian chant as a relatively stable and relatively uniform corpus is that they gave priority to comprehensive manuscripts that attempt to record the repertory for the whole of, or large portions of, a rite. Eduardo Henrik Aubert's thesis on Aquitanian fragments before 1100 and his forthcoming catalogue of chant fragments (from four departmental archives in Burgundy – Côte d' Or, Nièvre, Saône-et-Loire and Yonne) provide important resources and perhaps pave the way for larger research projects to address the need for incorporating such sources into music histories.[19]

There is still much work to be undertaken on music treatises. Until recently the priority was to make their texts available in modern editions, but little systematic work has been undertaken on their manuscript transmission. There is a parallel between the study of these texts and those for other educational purposes, but it is not overstating the case to say that historians of grammar and rhetoric have at present taken the lead. Music treatises pose a particular problem in that they seem to have been classified by medieval librarians simply as part of the quadrivium, yet many of them display practical concerns with teaching the music as practiced in institutional liturgies. For example, in a recent study, T.J.H. McCarthy identified an interesting corpus of twenty music-theoretical compilations in manuscripts associated principally with monasteries in Salian Germany, yet it is not clear whether these manuscripts form a coherent corpus, since some contain full texts while others contain excerpts; some are encyclopaedic and comprehensive while others seem much more practical.[20] It is fair to say that we need a better understanding of such miscellanies both in terms of their production, and the purposes that underlie them, and in terms of their use in teaching. A recent chapter by Michel Huglo and Barbara Haggh-Huglo (with Leofranc Holford-Strevens) has begun to address some of these issues, plotting the institutional provenance of all known surviving Parisian music treatises from 900 to 1450. The results of

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18 Michael Gullick and Susan Rankin, 'Review of K.D. Hartzell, *Catalogue*', *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 262–85.

19 Eduardo Henrik Aubert, 'Ecrire, chanter, agir: Les graduels et missels notés en notation aquitaine avant 1100' (unpub. PhD thesis, l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales: Paris, 2011). For the catalogue, see Aubert's webpage at http://buscatextual.cnpq.br/buscatextual/visualizacv.do?id=K4231522Y6.

20 T.J.H. McCarthy, *Music, Scholasticism and Reform: Salian Germany, 1024–1125* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). See also my review of this work in *German History* 28 (2010): 572–73.

the survey have pointed out remaining 'gaping lacunae' and provided a list of possible gains to be made from further work: (1) A thorough palaeographic and codicological assessment of music theory codices (many of whose contents are already indexed) needs to be undertaken. At present even the country of origin is imprecise for some. (2) A taxonomy of music theory manuscripts needs to be constructed so that like can be compared with like. (3) Attempts might be made to identify the hands of musicians using localizable and datable music theory manuscripts.[21]

To sum up, there is a notable convergence between the ways historians and musicologists are approaching and reassessing manuscript sources. Musicologists, in abandoning a simple narrative about the origins of chant, have turned their attention more fully to the centres of production and transmission of the manuscripts. The opportunities for interdisciplinary and co-operative projects should be noted. For early medievalists, it is important to recognize that words alone are a powerful form of musical notation, and perhaps the most common form, even after more specialized notations were invented and transmitted by cantors and clerics.[22] All early medievalists looking at liturgical texts should become aware that in doing so they are also probably looking at a kind of musical notation, even if that notation is simply the words of the rite itself.

Recent Approaches to (Genre) Analysis

The analysis of repertories of individual chant genres (Introit, Responsory, etc.) remains an important focus for musicologists, who have recently pushed beyond earlier boundaries that constrained the field because of two factors. First, it is now much easier for scholars to create, use and share digital data and to manipulate large data sets that previously would have required specialist computing assistance. Second, new attention is being paid to the ways in which the grammatical and rhetorical structures of the texts interact with their musical structures.

The use of large data sets underpins Katherine Helsen's thesis on the great-responsory repertory of the early twelfth-century antiphoner, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. latin 12044. Greatly expanding upon and ultimately revising the

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[21] Michel Huglo, Barbara Haggh and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'The Topography of Music Theory in Paris, 900–1450', in *City, Chant, and the Topography of Early Music*, 275–334, at 314–15.

[22] See Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), esp. 1–120, for a consideration of the many possible ways the *artes memorativae* influenced the creators of early medieval music. This should be read together with the review by William Flynn and Jane Flynn in *Early Music History* 28 (2009): 249–62.

conclusions of the seminal work on responsories of Walter Frere, she compares this manuscript with eight other repertories, and points a way forward for such studies.[23] Her meticulous collection of data allows her to catalogue both textual and musical detail and to analyse how melodic material is reused both within and between repertories. Moreover, she is able to demonstrate the existence of a number of house-styles and to demonstrate their characteristic melodic choices. The great value in this approach is that variants that might seem insignificant when casually encountered are shown to create significant and discernable differences in style, even if a singer then and now would not dispute that it is the 'same' piece being sung. Helsen demonstrates one application of this data, using it to localize fragmentary sources (even to identify some very partial fragments). While the thesis itself displays little concern with the structure of the texts, since Helsen's focus is on the musical structures, the careful organization of her database makes further exploration of both the text and music of the repertory practical for any interested scholar.[24]

The new analytical attention given to the dual structures of a text's grammar and its musical setting has been particularly valuable when comparing different liturgical families. Since the families of Old Roman and Gregorian chant share texts, and have related yet very different melodic content, text-analysis has been integral to discerning the differences between the two musical styles in the important studies by Emma Hornby and Rebecca Maloy.[25] Hornby's work has been particularly attentive to the potential mnemonic functions of the structure of liturgical texts. She has demonstrated how the highly formulaic melodic style of Old Roman tracts (psalm texts that are sung between the readings of Lenten masses) work in concert with the texts' grammar to create memorable structures that may not have needed any musical notation beyond

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23 Katherine Eve Helsen, 'The Great Responsories of the Divine Office: Aspects of Structure and Transmission' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Regensberg, 2008), available online and downloadable at http://epub.uni-regensburg.de/10769/. For Walter Frere's analytical work on the great responsories see his introduction to *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1901–24).

24 Technological gains are also evident in older databases such as *Cantus* (now at the University of Waterloo: http://cantus.uwaterloo.caa) which still claims to be largely an *incipit* database of the musical items of the Divine Office. Its scope has become considerably broader. *Cantus* now links not only to full texts from René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols., RED series maior, fontes 7–12 (Rome: Herder, 1963–79), but even supplies full, newly transcribed texts for items not found in Hesbert, as well as links to the manuscript images themselves, where available.

25 Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Rebecca Maloy, *Inside the Offertory: Aspects of Chronology and Transmission* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

the words themselves for their accurate oral transmission. Furthermore, the interaction between text and music and its potential for emphasizing particular verbal meanings has become a focus of Hornby's analysis and the focal point of Hornby and Maloy's joint project on Old Hispanic Lenten Chant.[26] These works demonstrate the significant amount of musical information that can be obtained from adiastemmatic neumes; that is, neumes that do not represent pitch graphically (for example, on a staff) but instead serve as a mnemonic for a known melody. Even though the pitch content cannot be recovered, significant melodic gestures and cadential structures can be compared with textual structures. When the musical reading goes against the grain of the texts' grammar, points of particular rhetorical emphasis are generated, and these can be examined first within the texts' fuller liturgical context (informed by the emphases and progression of the whole rite) and, second, compared with interpretations (in liturgical commentary, *ordines* and rules) contemporary with the formation and use of the repertory. The engagement with the musical content thus adds to, and sometimes alters, readings available from attending to the texts alone and opens up a whole field in which dialogue between musicologists and historians will prove particularly productive. Hornby and Maloy have already demonstrated that there was a complex relationship between the two major manuscript (and liturgical) traditions that preserve Old Hispanic chant, and it is clear that genre studies are only just reaching their potential for challenging and revising theories of liturgical transmission that have been dominated in the past by textual scholars.

Musical Sources Interpreted in Institutional, Pedagogical, and Ritual Contexts

Musicological work that concentrates on rituals as manifested in specific manuscripts made within particular institutional and pedagogical circumstances is perhaps the most immediately useful for historians interested in liturgy. Although this is also the kind of work that is most fraught with technical difficulty and fragmentary source material, musicologists have been mining the most promising aggregations of source material, which are mostly from the end of the early Middle Ages. Notable examples of such work are James Grier's studies of Adémar de Chabannes (996–1034), and Margot Fassler's two monographs: the first on the sequences associated with the Augustinian canons of St Victor (Paris), and the second on the fabric

[26] Emma Hornby, *Medieval Liturgical Chant and Patristic Exegesis: Words and Music in the Second-Mode Tracts* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2009); Hornby and Maloy, *Music and Meaning*.

and liturgy of Chartres. Grier's extensive manuscript work has demonstrated that Adémar was composer, text- and music-scribe for a large corpus of work (and text- and/or music-scribe for an even larger corpus).[27] Having identified this evidence of liturgical and textual production by a known and important churchman, Grier has been able to investigate Adémar's contributions to the enhancement and promotion of Saint Martial's cult as apostle. Fassler's earlier study of the sequences of the Parisian Victorines shows how this mass genre (important because it precedes the Gospel reading and can directly affect its interpretation) changed in both content and function, in part due to the educational reforms of the early Augustinians.[28] Fassler's more recent study argues that the process of making history in the early medieval West was intimately tied to the liturgy. She makes the basic, but important, point that cantors were especially active in history writing both in cathedral and monastic institutions. Her study therefore examines the role of cantors and the officials of the cathedral (and town) of Chartres in their production of a sacred history in which the liturgy is employed as the primary means of creating a communal memory that promotes the cathedral's famous relic of the Virgin Mary and her cult.[29] Fassler's implicit claim is that a modern critical reading of medieval historical sources is not achievable if their connections to the liturgy go unrecognized by modern historians. In an important article, she argues that the liturgy provided a 'fundamental default mode for the representation of the past in the Latin Middle Ages (especially up to the twelfth century)', exercising an influence that is 'both more beautiful and more terrible than has been imagined'.[30] Such aggregations of liturgical and historical material as survive from Chartres can be found, as Fassler points out, because cantors were not only musically and liturgically educated, but were also often authors

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[27] See especially his article 'The Musical Autographs of Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034)', *Early Music History* 24 (2005): 125–68; his monograph, *The Musical World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-Century Aquitaine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); his edition of Adémar de Chabannes, *Opera liturgica et poetica: Musica cum textibus*, ed. James Grier, Ademari Cabannensis Opera Omnia Pars 2, CCCM (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), vols. 245 and 245A; and most recently his article, 'Adémar de Chabannes (989–1034) and Musical Literacy', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66 (2013): 605–38.

[28] Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; 2nd rev. edn. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame Press, 2011).

[29] Margot E. Fassler, The *Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

[30] Margot Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in *Representing History 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 149–71, at 157.

of institutional and (in Adémar's case universal) chronicles and were in charge of the production of necrologies and cartularies; insofar as history was made, it was made by cantors.[31]

Such innovative work, offering readings of medieval liturgies informed by extensive study of the liturgical manuscripts, relies on evidence that is necessarily partial and often necessarily speculative. Liturgical manuscripts are inherently prescriptive, offering rules and repertories for enacting a rite; they never provide evidence that it was in fact enacted in the way the cantor-scribes intended. Yet, nevertheless, they are the best and fullest witnesses to what might have happened and are certain witnesses to what their creators wanted to happen. For another example of work that situates liturgical innovation within specific institutions, I refer to my own study of liturgies intended for Heloise's abbey of the Paraclete (near Troyes) in the 1130s that were shaped profoundly by the contributions of Peter Abelard.[32] In the 1980s, Chrysogonus Waddell did the essential spadework for the Paraclete liturgy in a lengthy series of publications that provided editions of key sources as well as detailed commentary.[33] The most important sources he edited were a reasonably full late thirteenth-century Old French translation of a somewhat earlier Latin Ordinary giving detailed, though not comprehensive, information about the order of the services in summary form, and a late fifteenth-century Breviary containing principally the offices of Vespers and Lauds (although some other repertory is occasionally included). These two

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31 Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework', 168; and Margot E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries', *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29–52.

32 William T. Flynn, 'Letters, Liturgy, and Identity: The Use of *Epithalamica* at the Paraclete', in *Sapientia et Eloquentia: Meaning and Function in Liturgical Poetry, Music, Drama, and Biblical Commentary in the Middle Ages*, ed. Gunilla Iversen and Nicolas Bell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 301–48; '*Ductus figuratis et subtilis*: Rhetorical Interventions for Women in Two Twelfth-Century Liturgies', in *Rhetoric Beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carruthers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 250–80; and 'Abelard and Rhetoric: Widows and Virgins at the Paraclete', in *Rethinking Abelard: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Babette S. Heelemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 155–86.

33 *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary: Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms français 14410 and the Paraclete Breviary: Chaumont, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 31*: *Introduction and Commentary*, CLS 3 (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1985); *The Old French Paraclete Ordinary: Edition*, CLS 4 (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1983); *The Paraclete Breviary: Edition*, 3 vols., CLS 5–7 (1983); *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, 2 vols., CLS 8–9; and *The Paraclete Statutes, Institutiones Nostrae: Introduction, Edition and Commentary*, CLS 20 (Trappist, KY: Gethsemani Abbey, 1987). All of these editions were edited by Chrysogonus Waddell, appeared as photocopies of typescripts in the Cistercian Liturgy Series and were distributed by Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, and are now available online from Western Michigan University: http://digitalcollections-wmich.cdmhost.com/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15032coll5 (accessed 4 July 2014).

sources can be compared with a number of twelfth-century texts: Abelard and Heloise's letters including Abelard's Rule for the Paraclete; Abelard's hymns and sermons, and the anonymous *Institutiones nostrae* of the Paraclete whose text is thought to date from Heloise's abbacy. All of these texts have late transmission histories and no manuscript dates from a period earlier than the ordinary, but these sources often legislate for, or provide repertory for, a form of the liturgy that is earlier. Even if this earlier liturgy was instituted fully, it was no longer completely in use by the time the ordinary was copied. But by examining the proposed liturgy as something that was at least intended to be enacted, one gains an insight into Abelard's intent and purpose for the Paraclete and an appreciation for the rhetorical skill with which he created a novel monastic identity for the Paraclete nuns. When there are sources available, as illuminating as those for the Paraclete, it is possible to detect the ways the liturgy was altered intentionally by individuals and evaluate their work.

By way of a conclusion, it should be emphasized that musicologists rightly bring their own experience of reading and performing music to their examination of liturgical sources. Western music notations grew out of liturgical sources after all, and the combination of graphic representation of the music and sufficient verbal directions that one can find in modern scores suggests a form of reading that acknowledges these origins. In the performance of liturgies, structures of time and space can be experienced (rather than simply imagined). For example, a source may give a single rubric stating that a sequence 'Epithalamica' should precede the reading of a Gospel 'Maria Magdalene', but a performance of the ritual involves the singing of this nine-minute dramatic poem, sections of which may be assigned to a variety of singers, solo and choral, during which a candle-lit procession and censing of the Gospel takes place. Interpreting such a rubric is not only a complex matter of tracking down additional sources that might give some insight into the ritual, but is also a matter of going beyond the sources, extrapolating from them to reproduce a ritual. It is arguable that such reconstruction allows for a fuller 'reading' of the liturgical sources and exposes more of the rubricator's tacit and memorized knowledge. Musicologists have recently been emphasizing a need for practice-based research that allows a fuller investigation of the sense of space and time that rubrics and notated music attempt to encode. Perhaps the boldest experiment along these lines to date is John and Sally Harper's AHRC/ESRC-funded project 'The Experience of Worship in Late-Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church'.[34] Even with the luxury of a cathedral (Salisbury) with standing fabric from a time at which one of the versions of its customary was composed, the project discovered innumerable lacunae in the sources through such a practice-based approach. One of the most

[34] The 'Experience of Worship in Late-Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church' website is http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk (accessed 2 July 2014).

important of the lacunae was the huge gap in understanding how the cathedral rite was transferred into parish settings.[35] By making the attempt to transfer it to a completely different space from that for which it was conceived, the project took part in a process that no doubt took place throughout the Middle Ages in churches that wished to be allied with Salisbury (Sarum) Use. The process also exposed both pedagogical and sociological distance between modern and medieval participants. The differences in musical training are perhaps easier to fill in with future research that aims for a practical recreation of performance techniques well documented in the sources, using performance strategies that are recoverable through further research. The even greater differences in sociological expectations regarding class, gender, and belief systems are also somewhat amenable to further research and at the very least need to be accorded critical and methodological weight by liturgical historians. In recognizing the tacit knowledge needed to perform the liturgy, liturgical historians can become attuned to the clues medieval sources occasionally yield when medieval conventions are violated and provoke commentary. While the 'Experience of Worship' project has considerably broader aims than historical investigation, it demonstrates both the value and the limits of a full imaginative reconstruction of an enacted ritual for historical research.[36] All real or imagined reconstructions highlight an irreducible element of invention in historical inquiry. However, if one demurs at investigating the sources in this way, perhaps on the grounds that it is too experimental, or somehow ahistorical, one arguably ends up with an equally invented historicized reading that ignores many features of the sources, the most important of which are the abundant rubrics and music notation. Such features suggest that great care was taken by medieval scribes to aid liturgical celebration and that today a fundamental form of reading these texts must take into account their sound, pacing, and the use of space that they encode and describe. By recognizing these features of our sources, and by using the better analytical tools available, and by incorporating the fuller picture of the sources that is currently emerging, scholars from all disciplines may yet realize their enormous potential for further insight into the history of medieval liturgies.

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[35] See also Matthew Cheung Salisbury's discussion of this issue in Chapter 5 below.

[36] Early medieval institutions that might benefit from such an approach include Winchester in the mid-eleventh century, and any of the many monasteries and several cathedrals that produced tropes and sequences. Gunilla Iversen's monograph, *Laus Angelica: Poetry in the Medieval Mass*, trans. W. Flynn, ed. J. Flynn (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010) gives a rich selection of these rewarding texts and points to the need for further study of the liturgies of the institutions where they were produced.

Chapter 4

Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze's *Pontifical romano-germanique*[1]

Henry Parkes

> The most important liturgical book of the tenth century, the Romano-German Pontifical, was compiled at the monastery of St Alban in Mainz in 950–963 … and influenced all of the West.[2]

When medieval historians seek to engage with medieval liturgy, nothing is more useful than a one-sentence summary. None has enjoyed more success, arguably, than that which distils the *Pontifical romano-germanique* (*PRG*), one of the most complicated and mysterious of medieval textual traditions, into an easily digestible sound bite. The quotation at the head of this chapter is not

1 I am grateful to Mme Daphné Defosset, of the Bibliothèque des Facultés de Théologie, Université de Strasbourg, for her efforts in trying to track down the papers of Michel Andrieu, which subsequently formed the basis of *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, Studi e Testi, 226–27, 269, 3 vols. (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963–72), the edition which concerns me here. Unfortunately, these could not be located. For evidence of the deposit see *PRG*, 1:vii. Subsequent references to the edited texts within this publication are indicated by '*PRG*' plus a chapter number and, where necessary, a paragraph number. Texts published in the volumes of *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. Michel Andrieu, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 11, 23–24, 28–29, 5 vols. (Leuven: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1931–61) are indicated by '*OR*' plus the number of the relevant *Ordo Romanus*. Manuscripts are referred to by the following sigla: *Primary sources:* A = Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Cod. 173; B = Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53; C = Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, Ms. 451; D = Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Cod. D. 5; G = Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Cod. B. 4; K = Pistoia, Archivio Capitolare, C. 141; L = Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, Cod. 607; T = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 701; V = Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 14; *Supplementary sources:* P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. latin 820; R = Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 555 Helmst. (cat. no. 603); J = London, British Library, Additional Ms. 17004.

2 'Le livre liturgique le plus important du 10e siècle, le pontifical romano-germanique, a été compilé au monastère Saint-Alban de Mayence en 950–963 … et à influencé tout l'Occident.' Pierre-Marie Gy, in Pierre Grelot et al., 'Liturgie et vie spirituelle', *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller et al., 17 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932–95), 9: cols. 873–939, at col. 905; the article was reprinted as *Liturgie et vie spirituelle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977).

unique, but one example among the hundreds (if not thousands) of scholarly books, articles and dictionary entries, all written in the last half-century, whose authors have gravitated towards this touchstone of tenth-century certainty. The reason is quite simple. Within the confusing proliferation of early medieval liturgical books – with their often awkward shapes, ambivalent testimonies and frustrating propensity to resist systematic analysis – the *PRG* has long stood as an irresistible exception: a clearly delineated, named tradition of manuscripts, anchored to a specific locality and a narrow timeframe, and attached to a wealth of historical context. Medieval liturgy might be a difficult subject, one could say, but at least we have the *PRG*.

For this we have to thank Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, the devoted scholars whose 'definitive' three-volume edition of the *PRG* manuscript tradition, entitled *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, was published between 1963 and 1972.[3] This monument of liturgical philology opened up a new vista of scholarly opportunity, and its publication was complemented by a series of explanatory articles by Cyrille Vogel, joined in 1963 by the lucid primer for which he is probably best remembered: the *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge*.[4] With a readily available text and handy commentary, Vogel and Elze thus equipped their readers to learn about the *PRG* as the pre-eminent tenth-century pontifical (that is, a bishop's liturgical book) which combined Frankish ritual texts, Carolingian liturgical exposition and commentary, and sources of Roman authority known as *Ordines Romani*.[5] One could find out about the *PRG* as a watershed moment in the evolution of pontificals. And readers could discover how monks from a German cathedral city had managed to assemble this compendium, which, following a stellar rise in popularity across eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe, as well as its successful implantation in Rome,

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3 The adjective is courtesy of Eric Palazzo, *Le moyen âge: des origines au XIIIème siècle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993), 210. For details of the edition see note 1.

4 Cyrille Vogel, 'Le pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle: éléments constitutifs avec indication des sections imprimées', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 32 (1958): 113–67; Vogel, 'Précisions sur la date et l'ordonnance primitive du Pontifical romano-germanique', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 74 (1960): 145–62; Vogel, 'Le pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle: nature, date et importance du document', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 6 (1963): 27–48; Vogel, 'Contenu et ordonnance du pontifical romano-germanique', in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna 23–30 Settembre 1962* (Vatican City: Pontifico Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1965), 243–65; Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioeva, 1966).

5 The adjective *romano-germanique*, first coined in Michel Andrieu, *Immixtio et consecratio: la consécration par contact dans les documents liturgiques du moyen âge* (Paris: Picard, 1924), 63n5, was explicitly designed to account for these different flavours.

set a standard for episcopal books in the Christian West that is said to persist even to this day.[6]

These narratives are by no means watertight, for reasons which I shall explore during the course of this chapter. But the greater problem here is not factual. It is the historiographical allure of a liturgical tradition so neatly packaged. In an ideal world, every medieval liturgical text would be accompanied by a printed edition and a ready explanation. Ritual practices would be considerably easier to grasp, historians could cite with confidence, and liturgists would be liberated from many of the tiresome, expensive, and often fruitless labours of manuscript study. As the present volume is at pains to point out, however, this is an entirely unrealistic hope. Living ritual traditions cannot simply be apportioned into discrete categories, nor can they readily be squeezed together and represented by a single printed text. This is no truer than when dealing with the products of the free-spirited, individualistic century before Gregorian Reform, when innovation seems to have been rife; and it applies no less strongly to the scores of eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts identified as '*PRG*' sources, whose mutual differences are actually as marked as their similarities.[7] So we are left in an interesting quandary. What price an accessible medieval liturgical text? And what scholarly premium have we been paying for the particular edition of the *Pontifical romano-germanique* – or, as some know it, the *Romano-German Pontifical* (*RGP*) – whose outward stability and utility, coupled with its now-canonical status, belies what is still one of the least well understood corners of medieval liturgical history?

The Book that (Almost) Never Was

The story of the *PRG* might have turned out very differently had the great liturgical scholar Michel Andrieu not passed away, wholly unexpectedly, in October 1956. When he had retired that summer as Dean of Faculty and Professor of Liturgy at the University of Strasbourg, apparently in good health, Andrieu had anticipated devoting his new freedom to a number of unfinished projects. According to his *Festschrift* of the same year, which was hastily turned into a memorial when news of his death emerged, he had in the pipeline a sixth instalment of his series on *Ordines Romani*, an edition of a thirteenth-century Missal of the Roman Curia, and the eagerly anticipated edition of the

[6] The original author of this last claim was, as with many of these ideas, Michel Andrieu, in *OR*, 1:494–95 and 548.

[7] For a list of sources by origin see Vogel, 'Le PRG: nature, date et importance', 29–30; and for a more updated version of the same see Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 220–23.

Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle.[8] 'With him,' wrote his friend and Strasbourg successor Cyrille Vogel, 'disappeared one of the great liturgical historians of our age.'[9] With him, we might add, disappeared the secrets of the *PRG*.

Andrieu had been working on this textual tradition for much of his life, during which time his bold hypotheses had become well known: that, although no original source appeared to have survived, the divergent families of surviving *PRG* manuscripts (comprising some forty sources) could be taken to show that a single text had probably originated at the monastery of St Alban's, Mainz (Germany) shortly after 950; that this text was likely to have been assembled and propagated with the backing of Archbishop William of Mainz (954–68); and that, following a period of intense copying and dissemination, it was brought over the Alps by Otto I (936–73) and subsequently adopted by the papacy.[10] During his career, Andrieu managed to edit a number of the tradition's constituent texts, of which the largest and most famous, *Ordo Romanus* 50 (his title), was sent to the publishers not long before his death and appeared posthumously a few years later.[11] He also categorized the most important manuscripts into four groups, arranged in order of fidelity to a hypothetical original, and here described as Groups I, II, III and IV.[12] Tantalisingly, however, he left no clue as to the intended shape of his *PRG* edition. How had he planned to distil these four manuscript families and some forty divergent manuscript witnesses, each of at least a hundred pages, into a single edited text? How would he define and order the different liturgical components of the compilation, given that every source presents them in a different light? And, most intriguingly of all, after three decades of work and still no edition, did he really believe that this project could feasibly be brought to completion?

After his death, no one was really in a position to know, least of all his colleagues Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, to whom the project was suddenly entrusted in the autumn of 1956.[13] In the circumstances, theirs was a Herculean

8 *Mélanges en l'honneur de Mgr Andrieu*, Revue des Sciences Religieuses, Volume Hors Série (Strasbourg, 1956), 6. For a sense of anticipation (and disappointment) see Cornelius Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1957), 28 n 1.

9 Cyrille Vogel, 'Mgr Michel Andrieu (1886–1956)', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 71 (1957): 34–6, at 34: 'Avec lui disparaît un des plus grands historiens de la liturgie de notre époque'.

10 See, chiefly, *OR*, 1:511–14.

11 *OR*, vol. 5.

12 For the disposition of these groups see *OR*, 1:526–45. Note that different categorizations have been applied over time: in 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', Vogel arranged the manuscripts into Groups A to D; in 'Le PRG: nature, date et importance', he regrouped them by geographical origin.

13 The editors tell the story of their involvement in the introduction to *PRG*, 1:vii–x.

effort. By 1963 a complete text had been published, and an introduction and indexes followed a few years later.[14] But the editors were quick to emphasize the modest state of their work. This edition was not the lost masterpiece of Andrieu, they stressed, nor was it fully theirs. In difficult and constrained circumstances, they had produced something from Andrieu's papers which might be worthy of his memory. They had not attempted what they perceived as the 'hazardous' reconstruction of Andrieu's hypothetical Mainz original, and yet nor had they made any concerted attempt to reconsider or overturn his ideas in the light of their own work.[15] Avowedly and openly, this edition was a compromise.

Crucial as it is for our understanding of the PRG edition, this state of compromise has never fully been recognized. Vogel and Elze tended to defer to Andrieu's wisdom on most matters of interpretation, giving an outward impression of absolute consensus when inwardly they may have felt unqualified to disagree. And as Andrieu's remarkable hypotheses have been replicated reverently from article to article, and have assumed concrete form through the publication of successive editions, theory has coalesced slowly into fact. In this last respect much of the blame must lie with Vogel, whose speculative conclusions reached an international audience in his otherwise well-respected and indispensable *Introduction aux sources*, later translated into English as *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*.[16] In the absence of any concerted interrogation of the *PRG* concept over the last century, therefore, and with the benefit of a growing canon of past discourse which has taken these ideas for granted, this twentieth-century creation continues to flourish unchallenged in the literature. For this reason above all, an exposé of the original 1963 edition – the underlying philological premises, the editorial policies, and the particular exigencies which led to its current state of compromise – is now long overdue.

The Nature of the *PRG* Edition

An Edition without a Primary Source

In many respects, it was much to their credit that Vogel and Elze decided against trying to recover Andrieu's putative Mainz archetype. Liturgy, they rightly pointed out, cannot be treated like classical literature.[17] That is to say, ritual traditions vary by their very nature, and former stages of transmission

14 *PRG*, vols. 1 and 2 (1963); vol. 3 (1972).

15 Ibid., 1:xi.

16 Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*.

17 *PRG*, 1:xi.

cannot be imputed by logic alone. They opted instead for a synthetic edition which combined texts from nine complete manuscripts, hand-picked from the forty or so which Andrieu had identified as '*PRG*'.[18] Eschewing the traditional process of divination, by which the philologist freely postulates the shape of an earlier textual layer, the editors spoke of their overriding desire to 'keep to the manuscript tradition which has actually been preserved'.[19] This strategy had a number of benefits. Chiefly, it avoided having to adjudicate on the competing claims of the two main manuscript families, Group I and Group II, to the contested status of 'original', and it shifted onto the reader the onus of sifting through these various surviving texts.[20] In fact, as the editors argued, there was probably no one 'original' source to be found anyway. If the scriptorium at St Alban's, Mainz had had the means to produce one influential liturgical volume around 950, they intuited, it had probably produced many. In that case, there was no reason to choose between the different recensions, and all of the surviving texts should be seen as equally worthy of the title '*PRG*'.[21]

Though philologically unorthodox, this policy achieved a basic goal: it communicated all of the texts relevant to Andrieu's hypothesis with a minimum of editorial intervention. Thus in the *PRG* edition each of the 258 chapters is accompanied by its own list of sources and, in places where these sources differ substantially, competing readings are simply lined up in parallel columns; or, if necessary, they are quietly transferred into appendices. As might befit a tradition with no known primary source, the readings of the main text are not designed to be prejudiced towards a single witness, but are decided by the majority opinion of the sources with occasional interventions where grammar or sense require. Textual variants are easily accessible, and the wider context of each manuscript can be inferred from a concordance table which outlines the relative contents and shape of each manuscript source.[22] All

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[18] For details of the precise number of manuscripts used in the edition, see below.

[19] Ibid., 1:xi: 'nous avons préféré nous en tenir à la tradition manuscrite effectivement conservée'. For a basic introduction to traditional text-critical methods see Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. Barbara Flower (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958). On Karl Lachmann, the father-figure of these approaches, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[20] For the original claim that Group I is anterior see *OR*, 1:526–45. Group II's precedence was argued in respect of Coronation ritual in Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zu Beginn des Salischen Hauses (1028)', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: kanonistische Abteilung* 24 (1935): 184–332, at 223–24 (where Group II equates to the so-called 'kürzere Fassung' of the *Mainzer Ordo*); and in Carl Erdmann, *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters*, ed. Friedrich Baethgen (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1951), 54–55 (where Group II equates to 'Fassung R').

[21] *PRG*, 1:xv.

[22] Found in ibid., vol. 1, after p. xxxi; beware several misprints in these tables.

of these decisions seem eminently reasonable. But there is a catch. Just as an edition of a single manuscript is relatively limited in what it can say, the trade-off for the *PRG*'s generously inclusive policy was that it represented no one historical reality. Without a privileged *Leithandschrift* (or 'best text') to lead the way, the editors had created something which technically never existed.[23] This was a critical weakness in their project, and later I shall consider the dire consequences it had for narratives of tenth- and eleventh-century liturgical history.

The editorial task might have been far less problematic, however, had the editors not sought to synthesize such a heterogeneous set of sources. While this may now provide the reader with a useful comparative tool, for the editors it meant forcing together conflicting texts, with the result that the edition is fundamentally predisposed to overstate the level of agreement among its sources. This is a serious issue if one considers that two of the most important texts, *PRG* chapters 63 (Episcopal Ordination) and 72 (Coronation), exist in quite different textual states in Group I and Group II manuscripts, a significant historical divergence which the printed edition actively subdues.[24] Similarly troubling is the fact that *PRG* chapters 190, 210–11 and 232 (Blessings) and 247 and 252 (Ordeals) comprise recensions which are dubiously related and have been stitched together editorially; and chapters 63 (Episcopal Ordination) and 214A/B (Blessing of Water for Crops) have each been subdivided for want of a legitimate connection between the different versions.[25]

No less problematic is the fact that, by means of the edition's inclusive policy, peripheral texts are valorized out of all proportion. Extraordinary as this may seem, those texts which are found in two sources or fewer far outnumber those which are common to all nine (Tables 4.1 and 4.2).[26] Thus is obscured one of the most troubling characteristics of the *PRG* edition: that only 16 of the 258 edited chapters (6 per cent) are common to all nine primary sources, of which only ten chapters (closer to 4 per cent) are reasonably free from significant variance from source to source. It is true that these 16 common chapters

[23] The 'best text' approach has the additional advantage of facilitating proofreading, as pointed out in D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 40–41. The *PRG* edition is indeed littered with errata, some of which were belatedly listed in the third *PRG* volume of 1972.

[24] On these different textual states see Erdmann, *Forschungen*, 54–70; see also note 20, above.

[25] The printed text of *PRG* 190 completely mispresents what is in Source T; *PRG* 232 is only partially connected to Source T; and *PRG* 63 has an Appendix which treats Source A separately. In 'Précisions', at 161, Vogel sought to play down this aspect, stressing that 'Il ne faut pas au surplus s'éxagérer les différences ... elles sont minimes'.

[26] Vogel and Elze outwardly claimed to have used eleven sources, a confusion which is clarified below.

represent a core of texts which are among the most substantial (chapter 99 comprises approximately one quarter of the edition) and the most central to the fulfilment of episcopal office (the rituals of Ordination, Dedication and Coronation); and it is also true that by restricting ourselves to the manuscripts of Groups I and II, thereby removing statistical outliers from Groups III and IV, the total concordance is increased to 58 of the 258 edited chapters (22 per cent).[27] But having to fiddle the sources in this way makes that result no more satisfactory, and it does not detract from the underlying problem. The edition of Vogel and Elze presents a modern collection of texts which, though published under a single heading and regularly described as 'the *PRG*', simply never existed in that form. This point cannot be overstated.

Table 4.1 Texts of the *PRG* edition common to all nine primary sources[28]

PRG chapter	Description	Sources with significant variance
14	Explanation of clerical grades*	V
15	Ordination to minor orders	
16	Ordination to major orders	A
26	Ordination of abbot	A, C, D, T, V
40	Dedication of church	
50	Reconciliation of violated church	
51	Blessing of church bell	
63	Ordination of bishop	All, especially A
68	Mass for a bishop on the anniversary of his ordination	
75	Coronation of emperor (OR 45)	
78	Blessing of queen	
79	Holding a general synod	
80	Holding a provincial synod	
97	Explanation of mass (*OR* 7, nn. 6–26)	A
98	Explanation of episcopal mass (*OR* 10)	
99	Guide to church year (*OR* 50)	All

*This text was edited from eight sources, but is also present in Source V in an interpolated form.

27 On the arrangement of manuscript groups see note 12, above.

28 See note 1 for a key to manuscript sigla.

Table 4.2 Texts of the *PRG* edition found in two primary sources or fewer

PRG chapter	Description	Sources
64	Papal prayers at giving of *pallium*	C, D
101–02	A corrupt combination of *OR* 22 and *OR* 3	C, D
137	Mass after confession	V
138	Mass for the sick	C, V
181–82, 195, 212	Blessings and prayers	T
184, 186–93, 205–06, 215–24, 226–31, 233–40, 242, 245	Blessings and prayers	B, G
246	Ordeal of iron	B, G
248	Ordeal of water	B
249	Blessing of bread and cheese for ordeal	B, G
250–51	Ordeal of bread and cheese	T
253–58	Various texts on marriage, birth	B, G

A Reconstructed Archetype in All but Name

Strangely, although the editors were quick to deny that they had established an authoritative tenth-century archetype, they were also keen to play down the artificiality of their creation. That is, they saw the accumulation of different manuscript texts in the *PRG* edition as something of genuine historical import. According to the commentary, the edition was designed quite specifically 'to establish the content of the Mainz compilation between the years of 950 and 1000'.[29] This Vogel and Elze did by structuring the text according to the 'earliest' shape of the *PRG* tradition, which they located principally in Sources C and D (Group I), but which they also detected in Sources B and G (Group II).[30] When one bears in mind that not one of these manuscripts dates from the fifty years under consideration, all having been made in the eleventh century, such language bespeaks a fairly obvious attempt to recover some kind of legitimate 'original' document, even if not 'the original' which Andrieu had originally proposed.[31]

29 Vogel and Elze, *PRG*, 1:xii: 'établir la teneur de la compilation mayençaise entre les années 950 et 1000 environ'.

30 Vogel, 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', 114: 'la forme première du Romano-Germanique'. All of these foundations had been laid by Andrieu. For manuscript sigla see note 1.

31 These problems were afforded their most careful consideration by Vogel in a paper given in 1962, published as 'Contenu et ordonnance', 257–65. Rather less careful is the

Despite their protestations, evidence of the editors' underlying intentions can be seen in earlier boasts of 'restoring' the text as it was between 950 and 961/63.[32] It can be seen also in a later stemma of contributing manuscripts, first published in 1965 and then reprinted in the supplementary *PRG* volume of 1972, at the head of which is a single, imaginary source marked 'archétype commun'.[33]

What one finds in the *PRG* edition, therefore, is more than just an assembly of all the surviving texts. It is a hypothetical corpus of tenth-century material formed by surgically combining representatives of Andrieu's two principal manuscript groups. Chapters 1–170 follow the course of Source C, the eleventh-century Beneventan source from Group I which Andrieu had first proposed as the closest surviving representative of the Mainz archetype; and chapters 171–258 take their lead from Source B, the eleventh-century Bavarian manuscript from Group II whose blessings, prayers and ordeals were supposedly 'accidentally' omitted from the main branch of transmission.[34] It is important to recognize that this structure still accords with the edition's outwardly manuscript-neutral policy, since it incorporates unique readings from all of the other primary sources. Even so, with clear preference afforded to Source C, the spectre of an archetype looms large.

One further manuscript with unwarranted influence over the edition is Source T. This eleventh-century witness was sorted by Andrieu into Group IV, the group for miscellaneous remnants ('autres pontificaux'),[35] and perhaps deservedly so, because its collection of blessings, prayers and ordeals displays a marked reluctance to concord with other sources in the edition (see, in particular, *PRG* chapters 190, 210–11, 214, 232, 247 and 252). The editors might have been expected to remove these texts from contention, as they did with other parts of this manuscript, on the basis that they were copied in a codicologically separable section at the end.[36] The fact that Vogel and Elze decided against doing so, opting instead to reconcile the texts laboriously with the other contributing sources, probably relates to the manuscript's unique historical status. Source T is the only source of the *PRG* tradition known to have been copied at St Alban's, Mainz (supposedly the original wellspring); it was connected by Andrieu

earlier claim in Vogel, 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', 118, that 'nos 11 manuscrits suffisent pour restituer avec une fidélité presque absolue l'oeuvre hétéroclite du moine rhénan'.

32 Vogel, 'Précisions', 162.

33 Vogel, 'Contenu et ordonnance', 254; *PRG*, 3:56. Andrieu included a very similar diagram in *OR*, 5: 43.

34 This policy was first explained in Vogel, 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', 119–20; see also 'Précisions', 161–62. *PRG*, 1:xvi: 'les autres [*Benedictiones*] auront accidentellement disparu'.

35 *OR*, 1:542.

36 Henry Parkes, 'Liturgy and Music in Ottonian Mainz 950–1025', unpub. PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2012), 240–42.

to archetypal Source C (Group I); and it was also considered to support the testimony of Source B (Group II).[37] By forcibly squeezing Source T into the wider *PRG* transmission, Vogel and Elze could lend their support to the very hypothesis underlying their editorial enterprise, that is, the putative existence of a Mainz archetype as the source behind Groups I and II. Had they admitted defeat at the hands of that same manuscript, they would have risked undermining the entire project. The credibility of the *PRG* edition was thus bolstered by this gentle manipulation of the evidence.

This is not the only instance of such behaviour. When Andrieu edited *Ordo Romanus* 50, the PRG's famous tract on the liturgical year, he did so from a generous twenty-one out of the forty or so known manuscripts.[38] By contrast, for their *PRG* edition Vogel and Elze initially settled on just eleven from that same corpus, a substantial reduction in scope.[39] In explaining this choice, Vogel pointed out that these were 'the best' examples from a cross-section of Andrieu's four manuscript groups.[40] Commendable as that decision may initially seem, there was more to this than merely representing a wide range of sources. As Vogel admitted elsewhere, the manuscripts were chosen principally 'because of their proximity to the archetype';[41] and in a further article he confessed to having eliminated some of the more troublesome witnesses from contention.[42] In other words, historical considerations had been fully subordinated to the task of establishing a single text. Given the magnitude of the task Andrieu had bequeathed, and with the benefit of hindsight, we might forgive the editors some of their actions. But, needless to say, had they opted to include any of the early or unstable witnesses which currently cower in historiographical limbo, the result would have been quite different.[43] Though significantly harder to establish and probably less loyal to Andrieu, such a creation would doubtless have been more honest to the true breadth of surviving '*PRG*' sources.

37 *OR*, 1:542–43; Vogel, 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', 120.

38 *OR*, 5:3–4.

39 That number was later reduced to the nine listed in note 1, above; on this confusion see below.

40 Vogel, 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', 114: '11 manuscrits … qui sont les meilleurs parmi la quarantaine de témoins'.

41 Ibid., 118: 'surtout en raison de leur proximité avec l'archétype'. See also *PRG*, 1:xiii.

42 Vogel, 'Contenu et ordonnance', 255.

43 Among various manuscripts which need integrating into this narrative are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6425 and Clm 21587; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. Z 52 sup.; Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2262; Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Min. 94; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 50 and Ms. Lit. 54. For an attempt to do so in relation to the rituals of excommunication see Sarah Hamilton's chapter 'Excommunication Rites in Eleventh-Century Pontificals' in this volume.

Editions Within Editions

Although outwardly Vogel and Elze chose eleven sources for their edition, that figure is itself somewhat misleading. This is partly due to the uneven transmission of texts, whereby no one source contains all 258 chapters and only sixteen chapters are common to all. But it also relates to the editors' occasional habit of moving the editorial goalposts from chapter to chapter according to the availability of relevant primary sources. In reality, Vogel and Elze based the *PRG* edition on just nine complete sources, which they then supplemented with other material where necessary or possible (see Table 4.3). They did not have full sight of Source J, presumably because Andrieu had only achieved a partial collation,[44] while Source P was effectively excluded from the final edition because of its near-identical relationship to Source V.[45] Another manuscript, the twelfth-century Source R, was called upon only to strengthen the testimony of certain coronation texts, an inconsistency which may have related to Reinhard Elze's particular expertise in that field. The editors also made selective use of Melchior Hittorp's sixteenth-century *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis* – itself a selection of '*PRG*' texts from an unknown source or sources – as if it were a manuscript source in its own right.[46] Thus with an uneven mixture of contributing texts, the *PRG* edition was never technically a single entity. It was the sum total of several hundred self-contained editions.

But that is only part of the story. A sizeable proportion of the published *PRG* edition was not derived from primary sources at all. As Table 4.4 shows, this material was drawn from existing editions. The editors had been faced with a difficult problem. Andrieu had already edited a significant number of their texts in his series of *Ordines Romani* but from a different array of sources. Either they could edit the texts afresh from their limited corpus of nine *PRG* manuscripts (thereby retracing Andrieu's steps but with less information), or they could leave out those particular sections and defer to the existing editions (thereby impoverishing their own project).[47] In the end, they decided on a half-way solution: to reprint a skeleton text from Andrieu, allowing the casual reader to peruse, while directing the seasoned scholar to the relevant pages in the *Ordines Romani*.[48] Although the

44 See *OR*, 1:144–45. Andrieu's collation tables formed the basis of Vogel and Elze's edition.

45 On this relationship see Vogel and Elze, *PRG*, 1:xxxi; see also Pierre de Puniet, 'Formulaire grec de l'Epiphanie dans une traduction latine ancienne', *Revue bénédictine* 29 (1912): 26–46. It is curious that Source P was excluded but Source D (probable copy of Source C) and Source K (probable copy of Source L) were not.

46 Melchior Hittorp, *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis et Mysteriis Varii Vetustorum Aliquot Ecclesiae Patrum ac Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Libri* (Cologne, 1568).

47 Vogel and Elze, *PRG*, 1:xxi–xxii.

48 Ibid., 1:xxi–xxii.

Table 4.3 Texts in the *PRG* edition which deviate from the nine primary sources

PRG chapter	Description	Source
56–63, 65–66	Episcopal ordination	Primary sources + J
72	Coronation ritual	Primary sources + R, with variants from Hittorp, *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis*
73–74, 78	Coronation masses, Blessing of queen	Primary sources + R
93–96	Mass expositions	Primary sources + J
99	Guide to church year (*OR* 50)	Sources C and K only, with variants from Hittorp, *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis*

editors spun this decision positively, repeatedly boasting of the 'benefit for the reader', this situation brings with it a host of editorial problems.[49] Chief among these is the fact that, because Andrieu's texts were established from different sources according to different editorial criteria, they are not strictly comparable to those of the *PRG* edition proper. The reader would not necessarily know that, though, because the *Ordines* were reprinted in the *PRG* edition without their editorial apparatus, and in specific textual recensions which were chosen silently at the discretion of the editors.[50] And while Vogel and Elze might have hoped that their readers simply called up Andrieu's original publications, parallel consultation is all but prohibited by the *PRG* edition's adoption of completely different manuscript sigla. Thus a considerable amount of information is obscured.

If that seems an unsatisfactory state of affairs, the treatment of *PRG* chapter 99 (*OR* 50) is no more encouraging. This substantial text, which amounts to around a quarter of the overall *PRG* edition, was edited separately by Andrieu before his death. At the stage that Vogel and Elze were working, however, the typescript was still with the printers, leaving the editors little choice but to establish a version themselves.[51] This they did with the help of just two manuscripts, Source C (representing Group I) and Source K (representing Group II), as well as Hittorp's edition for reference, a solution which

[49] Ibid., 1:8–9 and passim: 'ad commodum lectoris'.

[50] Each *Ordo Romanus* provided in the *PRG* edition is, as they put it, 'évidemment la recension donnée par les exemplaires du Romano-germanique qui a été retenu (et qui ne correspond donc pas nécessairement au texte établi par Mgr M. Andrieu)'. Ibid, 1:xxii.

[51] Ibid. 1:xxii. The volume was ultimately published in 1961, some five years after Andrieu's death.

Table 4.4 Texts of the *PRG* edition drawn from existing editions

PRG chapter	Description	Source
7	Guide to Ember days (*OR* 37B)	*OR*, 4:249–54 (extract)
8	Guide to Ember days (*OR* 38)	Ibid., 4:267–69
63 Apx.	Ordination of a bishop (*OR* 35B)	Ibid., 4:99–110 (the second half is abbreviated, with *PRG* concordances indicated)
71	Ordination of pope (*OR* 40B)	Ibid., 4:307–8
72 Apx. 1	Coronation ritual (*Frühdeutscher Ordo*)	Erdmann, *Forschungen*, 83–87 (abbreviated, with *PRG* concordances indicated)
72 Apx. 2	Coronation ritual (*Ordo der Sieben Formeln*)	Ibid., 87–89 (abbreviated, with *PRG* concordances indicated)
75	Coronation of emperor (*OR* 45)	*OR*, 4:459–62
76	Coronation of emperor (*OR* 47)	Ibid., 4:503–5
77	Mass for emperor (*OR* 48)	Ibid., 4:517–19
92	Explanation of mass (*OR* 5)	Ibid., 2:209–27
97	Explanation of mass (*OR* 7, nn. 6–26)	Ibid., 2:295–305 (extract, with lines renumbered)
98	Explanation of episcopal mass (*OR* 10)	Ibid., 2:351–62
101	Guide to Lent (*OR* 22, nn. 1–15; fragmentary)	Ibid., 3:259–62 (given in full, but annotated to show where *PRG* sources cease)
102	Supplement to *OR* 1 (*OR* 3, nn. 4–6; fragmentary)	Ibid., 2:131–33 (given in full, but annotated to show where *PRG* sources cease)
103	Guide to office chants (*OR* 12)	Ibid., 2:459–66
104	Guide to clerical grades (*OR* 36)	Ibid., 4:195–205

reviewer Bernard Botte justly described as 'flawed'.[52] When one remembers that Andrieu had used 21 divergent manuscripts to establish the same text, the dangers of this economy become clear. The text of *OR* 50 in the *PRG* edition is not only unrepresentative of the wider manuscript situation, but also disconcertingly free of editorial paraphernalia, giving a wholly deceptive impression of harmony. This is of crucial importance when one considers that the original claim that the *PRG* was assembled by monks of St Alban's, Mainz – that rock of historical certainty upon which so many scholars have been

[52] Bernard Botte's review of *PRG* Volumes 1 and 2 in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 59 (1964): 902–4, at 902: 'la solution est un peu boiteuse'.

content to lean – was largely premised upon a repertory of musical chants for Rogation only found in *PRG* Sources C, D and T.[53] Because *PRG* chapter 99 was established only from Sources C and K, the consequence is that Andrieu's favoured Group I and Group II recensions now appear unduly normative; and in the many places where Source K is silent – as happens with the crucial testimony of the 'Mainz' chants – the theory of a Mainz archetype appears all but incontrovertible.

A Modern Abstraction

By virtue of its reconstructive premise, the *PRG* edition is necessarily abstracted to some degree from its sources, and must be taken with a liberal pinch of salt accordingly. For example, one instinctively suspends disbelief when informed that Source C, from late eleventh-century Montecassino, most closely represents a principally German manuscript tradition from almost a thousand miles away and over a hundred years in the past.[54] And one can make the same adjustment whenever that same manuscript is held up as the 'first' witness to a particular text, when it is almost certainly not, or indeed whenever the wide chronologies and geographies of manuscript sources are collapsed to serve linear philological arguments. But there is another crucial kind of abstraction which remains largely concealed from view: the relationship between the manuscript and the printed page.

The issue here is that while the basic textual information is documented assiduously in the *PRG* edition, extending even to the recording of marginal additions and corrections, other potentially interesting details of transmission are not. The reader is in no position to know, for example, that in Vienna 701 the substantial *PRG* chapters 113, 111 and 112 number among a host of miscellaneous additions at the end of the manuscript, and were added by a later scribe. Nor is the reader equipped to find out that in Bamberg Ms. Lit. 53 the text is divided into four main codicological sections, shared unequally among two main scribes.[55] Such details are extremely difficult to record in a modern edition, without doubt, but they are also critical to the interpretation of the texts. Their absence, conversely, serves to strengthen the idea that 'the *PRG*' was a meaningfully singular creation.

[53] The most important of these chants is the *versus* 'Humili prece'. For the original claim of Mainz provenance see *OR*, 1:500–6; for the unpicking of that argument see Parkes, 'Liturgy and Music', ch. 2, esp. 113–16.

[54] According to the most recent assessment, this manuscript was produced in the years of Abbot Desiderius (1058–87). See Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 86.

[55] See Hamilton, 'Excommunication Rites in Eleventh-Century Pontificals', in this volume, 135.

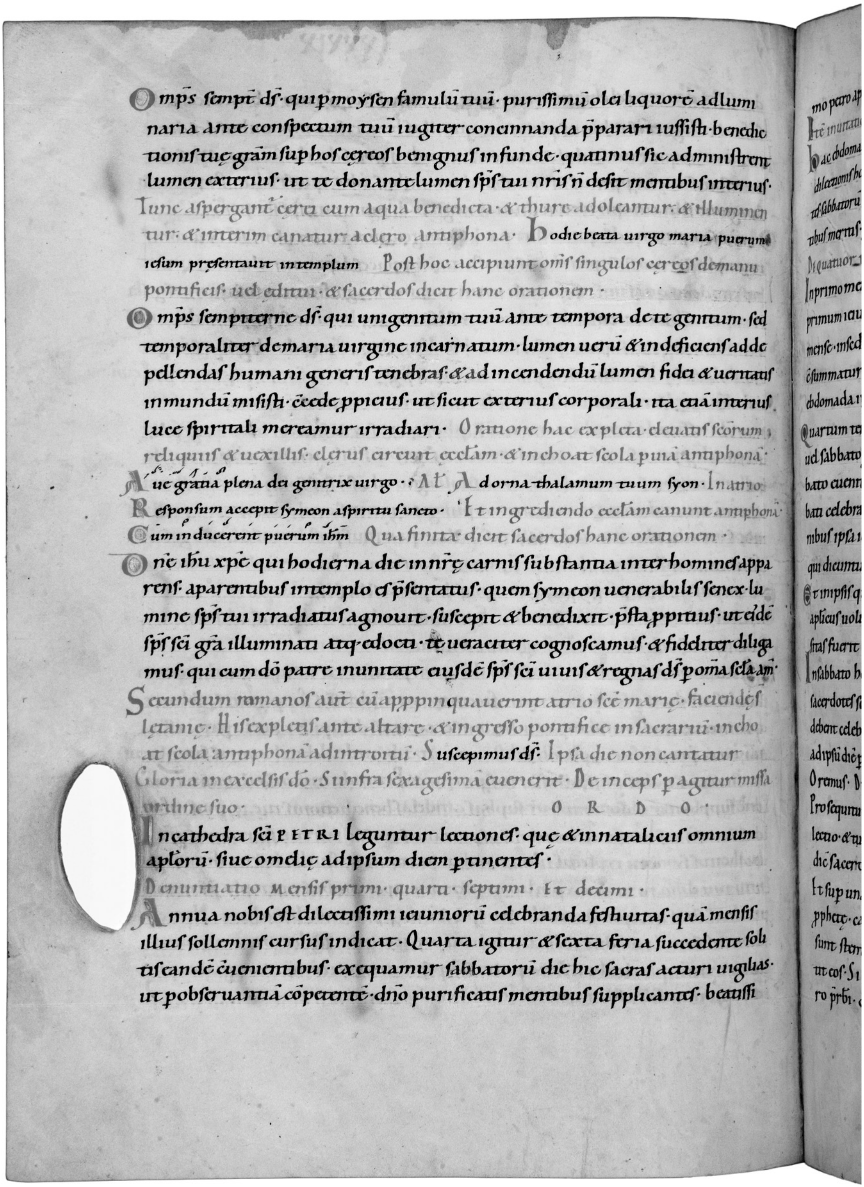

Figure 4.1 Hierarchy of scripts in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53, fol. 91v (photo: Gerald Raab), by kind permission of the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui per Moysen famulum tuum purissimum olei liquorem ad luminaria ante conspectum tuum iugiter concinnanda praeparari iussisti, benedictionis tuae gratiam super hos cereos benignus infunde, quatinus sic administrent lumen exterius, ut, te donante, lumen spiritus tui nostris non desit mentibus interius. Per.

Tunc aspergantur cerei cum aqua benedicta et thure adoleantur et illuminentur et interim canatur a clero antiphona: *Hodie beata virgo Maria puerum Iesum praesentavit in templum*. Post hoc accipiunt omnes singulos cereos de manu pontificis vel editui, et sacerdos dicit hanc orationem:

Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, qui unigenitum tuum ante tempora de te genitum sed temporaliter de Maria virgine incarnatum, lumen verum et indeficiens, ad depellendas humani generis tenebras et ad incendendum lumen fidei et veritatis in mundum misisti, concede propitius, ut sicut exterius corporali, ita etiam interius luce spiritali mereamur irradiari. Per eundem.

Oratione hac expleta, elevatis sanctorum reliquiis et vexillis, clerus circuit aecclesiam et inchoat scola per viam primam antihonam: *Ave, gratia plena Dei genitrix virgo*. Alia: *Adorna thalamum tuum Syon.* In atrio: *Responsum accepit Symeon a spiritu sancto*. Et ingrediendo ecclesiam canunt antiphonam: *Cum inducerent puerum Iesum*. Qua finita, dicit sacerdos hanc orationem:

Domine Iesu Christe, qui hodierna die in nostrae carnis substantia inter homines apparens a parentibus in templo es presentatus quem Symeon venerabilis senex lumine spiritus tui irradiatus agnovit, suscepit et benedixit, praesta propitius, ut eiusdem spiritus sancti gratia illuminati atque edocti, te veraciter cognoscamus et fideliter diligamus. Qui cum Deo patre in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti vivis et regnas deus per omnia secula. Amen.

Secundum Romanos autem, cum appropinquaverint atrio sanctae Mariae, faciendae sunt letaniae. His expletis ante altare, et ingresso pontifice in sacrarium, inchoat scola antiphonam ad introitum: *Suscepimus, Deus*. Ipsa die non cantatur *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, si infra sexagesimam evenerit. Deinceps peragitur missa ordine suo.

Ordo in cathedra sancti Petri. Leguntur lectiones quae et in nataliciis omnium apostolorum, sive omeliae ad ipsum diem pertinentes.

Denuntiatio mensis primi, quarti, septimi et decimi. *Annua nobis est, dilectissimi, ieiuniorum celebranda festivitas quam mensis illius sollempnis cursus indicat. Quarta igitur et sexta feria succedente, solitis eandem convenientibus exequamur, sabbatorum die hic sacras acturi vigilias, ut per observantiam competentem domino purificatis mentibus supplicantes, beatissi-*

Figure 4.2 The texts of Figure 4.1 typeset according to the house style of *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. Vogel and Elze, 2:8–10

A further dimension which is flattened in the edition is the manner in which each scribe interpreted the wide variety of textual types typically found in '*PRG*' sources. In certain key passages, such as in *Ordo Romanus* 50, the complex semantic hierarchy – of titles, subtitles, descriptive texts, instructional texts, explicatory texts, spoken texts and sung texts – attracts an equally complex visual hierarchy of scripts. Predictably, there is no standard arrangement. Rather, each scribe seems to have established a system according to his or her needs, with the different levels differentiated (or left undifferentiated) by a combination of ink colour, script size, script type, notation, line breaks and initial capitals (see Figure 4.1). In this context, the limits of our modern taxonomy (in other words, 'rubric') become painfully clear, as does the sheer variety of intellectual contexts in which a single text could potentially reside (for example, performance script, aide-mémoire, reference volume). The difficulty for the *PRG* edition is that while some scribes assiduously demarcated different levels of text, others made only basic concessions, presenting their materials almost as if continuous prose. Policies seem to have varied from section to section, too. The editors opted quietly to regularize these details, which certainly made their edition cleaner and more manageable. But to do so was also arguably to disavow a defining aspect of transmission and reception, and to impose upon the material an arbitrary and largely artificial visual hierarchy.[56] For a sense of this disjuncture compare Figure 4.1 with Figure 4.2.

This imposition of order represents another side to the abstraction problem. One surprisingly thorny aspect of the *PRG* edition is the parcelling up of its contents into 258 sections. Just as the book you are reading is divided into a number of complementary sections and chapters, instinct dictates that the same logic should apply to the subdivisions of the *PRG*. In fact, these are exceptionally uneven, both in size and content. While many *PRG* chapters transmit texts for 'complete' rituals, such as *PRG* 22 (Ordination of an Abbess) or *PRG* 40 (Dedication of a Church), others consist merely of subsections or related texts, such as *PRG* 62 (part of the Ordination of a Bishop), *PRG* 67 (mass prayers for the same), or *PRG* 60 (a single canon on Episcopal Ordination).[57] And while *PRG* 99 is a vast composite of ritual documents for the course of the church year, and was published by Andrieu in a volume of its own, *PRG* 222 is a one-line blessing for the fruit of a new tree. The editors could perhaps have organized their 'chapters' more efficiently, but it is by no means certain that these medieval scribes had any

[56] This family of problems is considered most carefully in Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 21–32. It is not clear that a workable solution for liturgical texts has yet been found.

[57] For a greater sense of this variety see the contributions to the present volume by S. Hamilton (*PRG* 85, 88, 90, 91), Chave-Mahir (*PRG* 114, 123), L. Hamilton and Birkedal Bruun (*PRG* 33, 40).

better sense of what defined a discrete unit of ritual text.[58] Vogel and Elze spoke of their collection as made up of separate *titres*, but these are inconsistent among the manuscript sources. Sometimes titles are afforded no special place within the visual hierarchy, perhaps for the reasons of scribal independence detailed above; sometimes they are absent altogether; and sometimes they do not correspond fully to the contents (applying only to the first section of many, for example), or exist in a variable form across all sources (as in the Excommunication rituals considered by Sarah Hamilton in Chapter 6). This state of uncertainty is put into relief in manuscripts where the scribes have attempted to use numbering systems, tables of contents or running titles to distinguish between different sections or rituals (see, for example, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 15 Weiss. (cat. no. 4099); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6425; and Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana, Cod. 607). In such examples the dividing up of texts is inconsistent both within and across sources. Thus the very premise by which we assess variance and transmission within the *PRG* tradition – the 'chapter' – emerges as a problematic mode of enquiry, and it casts doubt on our most basic assumptions about the identity of a ritual text.

The Solidification of Hypothesis

Of all the shortcomings of the *PRG* edition, however, perhaps the greatest was the failure of the editors to acknowledge the true extent of these very shortcomings. Vogel and Elze may be absolved to the extent that they prefaced their edition with homage to Andrieu and with professions of inadequacy, and to the extent that a printed edition always tends to reinforce its object with artificial certainty and obstinacy. They might also be forgiven on the basis that the *PRG* tradition verges on being uneditable: Andrieu never got round to his edition, of course, and Bishop once referred to it presciently as 'that pitfall for the unwary'.[59] But at the same time there is much to suggest that the editors not only failed to emphasize sufficiently the edition's weaknesses, but also actively sought to strengthen its identity in spite of these problems. Narrowing the field

58 This problem actually gave rise to a heated disagreement between Andrieu and Dom Pierre de Puniet on the identity of *Ordo Romanus Antiquus* (later published as *OR* 50), because in Hittorp's *De Divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Officiis* it is not clear to which liturgical texts that title applies. See Andrieu, 'Melchior Hittorp et l'"Ordo Romanus Antiquus"', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 46 (1932): 3–21, at 9–12. What neither saw fit to concede is that Hittorp's publication may have preserved a long-standing medieval ambiguity.

59 Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 112, referring to the text as found in Hittorp's edition.

of enquiry when it might have been broadened, they proclaimed an inconclusive theory as *fait accompli*.

Although they may not have intended it this way, much of the *PRG* edition's authority derives from the simple confidence of its presentation on the page. Redolent of the great liturgical monuments of the past, the edition bears on its first page the title 'Pontificale romano-germanicum saeculi decimi', a posturing faux-medievalism which is surrounded, somewhat sheepishly, by square brackets.[60] In a similar way, each chapter is furnished with a Latin title, even where that means inventing one (*PRG* 39, 63, 253), borrowing it from elsewhere (*PRG* 99, for which they used Hittorp's title *Ordo Romanus Antiquus*), or artificially separating one part of a ritual from another (see above). The edition even has Latinized editorial introductions to each *Ordo Romanus*, placed confusingly between the title and the text, and in a similar typeface, thereby blurring the distinction between text and commentary. Spurious authority is imparted, meanwhile, to the two fragmentary *Ordines Romani* (*PRG* 101, 102; found only in Sources C and D) which are mysteriously presented in the edition as if whole, and to the Coronation section, which includes in its appendices two rituals *not* found in any *PRG* source (*PRG* 72). Finally, in a highly suspicious anomaly of typesetting, several of the musical chants for Rogation – not least 'Humili prece', whose textual recension was critical to Andrieu's theory about the *PRG*'s origins in Mainz – are accorded special prominence, with ample spacing and distinct type.[61] No example is particularly significant on its own, but collectively such features endow the edition with certainty and immutability, qualities not wholly commensurate with the original anxieties of its assembly.

As I have already described, the *PRG* edition was further strengthened through the subtle amelioration of the very theory on which it rested, by which means the whole enterprise essentially became a self-fulfilling prophecy. The critical decision made by Vogel and Elze was to treat all surviving sources as 'originals', hence as equally valid witnesses to the liturgical activity at St Alban's, Mainz between 950 and 1000. Andrieu had argued nothing of the sort, visualizing the transmission of the *PRG* tradition instead as a gradual ripple effect outwards from Mainz, where the agency of each subsequent scribe in each subsequent institution was the key to its evolving identity.[62] Vogel did not seem to dissent from this view in his 1958 article, and so the airing of a new manuscript-neutral interpretation in 1960 strongly suggests that the intractable problems of source hierarchy – in particular, the claim that

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60 *PRG*, 1:3.

61 Compare *PRG* 99.423 with 99.424. On 'Humili prece' see *OR*, 1:500–5. See also note 53, above.

62 Ibid., 1:505–9, 526.

the Group II versions of Coronation and Episcopal Ordination were actually earlier than those in Group I – had forced a change of tack.[63] If all manuscripts were to be presumed equal, of course, this greatly simplified the task of editing. But the historical implications are equally significant. According to this new view, no longer was the *PRG* merely a utilitarian textual collection whose historical success could be measured by the frequency of its copying, and by the changing complexion of its reception. If every source could trace its own distinct lineage back to Mainz, and to a diverse repertory of liturgical texts which (by Schramm's reckoning) was composed there over the course of many decades, then the *PRG* tradition was much more closely associated with that city than had previously been thought.[64] From this originated the idea that Mainz scribes had a kind of monopoly on *PRG* production, extending over the course of half a century or more.

Now firmly in the realm of fantasy, it was but a small step from here to suppose that this was not the work of a lone 'rédacteur' (Andrieu, 1931), but the achievement of a 'Werkstatt' (Schramm, 1935) or 'atelier' (Vogel, 1960) of copyists.[65] And while Andrieu had mooted the possibility of Archbishop William of Mainz's 'endorsement', for Schramm it was quite imaginable that William was the *PRG*'s 'protector' if not 'instigator'.[66] By 1960, doubt had dissolved altogether: 'it was *undoubtedly* by [William's] initiative and with his backing', wrote Vogel, 'that the Mainz scriptorium began work on the [*Pontifical*] *Romano-Germanique*'.[67] From a collection whose success derived purportedly from its general utility (Andrieu) came a collection proffered by the bishops to a German emperor 'preoccupied' with reform (Vogel).[68] And from something which the papacy might have wished to adopt (Andrieu) came something which Otto I brought to Rome principally 'to remedy a scandalous

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63 Vogel, 'Le PRG: éléments constitutifs', esp. 117: 'Tous les manuscrits de ce deuxième groupe nous présentent une forme un peu plus récente du Romano-germanique que le groupe précédent'; Vogel, 'Précisions', 158. On the primacy of the Group II Coronation rite see note 20, above.

64 In 'Die Krönung', 223–24, 231, Schramm dates the Group II version of the Coronation rite, the 'kürzere Fassung', to some time before 961, and the Group I version, the 'längere', to the years around 980. Both versions are assumed to have been composed in Mainz, according to the (over-)literal interpretation of Coronation *ordines* as texts cultivated solely by their practitioners, that is, the Archbishops of Mainz.

65 *OR*, 1:526; Schramm, 'Die Krönung', 222; Vogel, 'Précisions', 148.

66 *OR*, 1:508: 'approbation'; Schramm, 'Die Krönung', 218: 'Man möchte sich den Erzbischof selbst als Protektor der Arbeit, vielleicht sogar als ihren Anreger vorstellen'.

67 Vogel, 'Précisions', 157: 'c'est *sans doute* sur son initiative et avec son appui que l'atelier mayençais mit en chantier le Romano-germanique' [my emphasis].

68 *OR*, 1:508; Vogel, 'Précisions', 151.

decadence' (Vogel),[69] this despite the fact that both authors saw the 'early' *PRG* as an imperfect and impractical invention.[70] Vogel was successful in embroidering Andrieu's narrative not because he had a greater insight into the sources, but because this entire *PRG* 'history' was pure, unadulterated fiction.

Lest there be any doubt, these claims must now be considered untenable. As far back as 1933, Gerald Ellard expressed robust doubts about Andrieu's hypotheses from the perspective of anointing rituals, questioning 'whether or not that ordinal [*Ordo Romanus Antiquus*, later edited as *Ordo Romanus* 50 and *PRG* 99] was known in Mayence itself, or elsewhere in Germany of which we have evidence, until at the earliest circa 1000'.[71] Roger Reynolds was later to reinforce that point when he showed that the *PRG* ordination rituals had no firm claim to tenth-century Italy, revising the arguably over-optimistic dating of Source L and extricating its ordination texts from their previous association with tenth-century popes Leo VIII and John XIII.[72] Since then, Sarah Hamilton has shown that *PRG* penance texts had limited geographical reach beyond Germany and no real monopoly on tenth- and eleventh-century liturgical practice.[73] And it is now by no means certain that Mainz's institutions or archbishops were involved in collection at all, at least in the tenth century. The pivotal 'Mainz' recension of 'Humili prece' can no longer be relied upon in questions of provenance, having entered a small branch of transmission at a demonstrably later stage; the capacity of Mainz's religious institutions to produce such a collection around 950 is gravely in doubt; and documented liturgical and musical traditions of tenth-century Mainz bear little or no relation to those found in the earliest surviving '*PRG*' sources.[74]

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69 *OR*, 1:514; Vogel, 'Le PRG: nature, date et importance', 44: 'La principale raison de l'implantation à Rome du livre rhénan demeure cependant la volonté d'Otton de remédier à une décadance scandaleuse'. Vogel later sought to modify his view, dismissing the idea of the *PRG*'s 'brutal replacement' of Roman ritual practices, a confusing contradiction of his earlier speculation: ibid., 47.

70 Ibid., p. 42, note 68; *OR*, 1:526; also *OR*, 5:75–76.

71 Gerald Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1933), 89. Ellard's argument, though, is compromised by questionable datings and manuscript locations, combined with a narrow range of source material, but it is possible that he knew more than he let on.

72 Roger E. Reynolds, 'Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art', *Gesta* 22 (1983): 27–38, at 37–38; these ideas were fleshed out in Reynolds, 'The Ritual of Clerical Ordination of the Sacramentarium Gelasianum saec. VIII: Early Evidence from Southern Italy', in *Rituels: mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy*, ed. Paul de Clerck and Eric Palazzo (Paris: Editions de Cerf, 1990), 437–45, at 438–39.

73 Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, esp. 219.

74 Parkes, 'Liturgy and Music', esp. chs. 2 and 4.

Of all the consequences of this speculative history, however, perhaps the most damaging has been the reification of 'the *PRG*' as a single, bounded object. While Andrieu's theory was at least relatively amenable to variance and scribal independence, Vogel's reinterpretation contended that the different sources were more or less equal visions of the same thing, a quality embodied in the printed edition. This latter version of events – pared down, self-justifying, and readily available in published form – has proved itself most seductive in subsequent scholarship, to the point that the edition is often misconstrued as a historical object. Palazzo's guide to the liturgy, for example, makes the elementary mistake of assuming that the *PRG* tradition 'comprises 258 sections' and is a 'carefully planned and organized compilation' – comments which are wholly antithetical to the state of manuscript survival.[75] Equally unhelpful has been the claim that 'the *PRG*' represented a turning point in liturgical history, when the wider evidence suggests nothing of the sort.[76] In conjunction with a widespread recognition that these are indeed historically interesting texts, the tangible singularity of Vogel and Elze's edition has distracted us from at least two potential misconceptions of the *PRG* phenomenon. First, it is dangerous to assume that a textual tradition characterized by its miscellaneous assembly, shifting identity and often archaic character necessarily had a single origin or single ontological existence. Second, it is by no means certain that the survival of a reasonably concordant family of liturgical texts, though noteworthy in its own right, necessarily reveals anything about wider changes in religious ritual practices in tenth- and eleventh-century Europe.

Future Directions

The shortcomings of Vogel and Elze's edition ultimately stem from the entanglement of two basic issues: the medieval phenomenon and its modern edition. While instinct dictates that these should be quite separable concerns, this chapter has shown how the reality is often more complicated. In this case, it was only through Andrieu's laborious collation of sources that a hierarchy of transmission could be constructed; and it was only through the construction of this hierarchy that historical information could be squeezed out of its otherwise elusive texts. Philology provided the window through which a lost tradition could be glimpsed. In fact, the relationship was probably even more involved

[75] Palazzo, *Le moyen âge*, 210: 'Il se compose 258 sections'; 213: 'cette compilation réfléchie et organisée'; translation from Palazzo, *History*, 203 and 204.

[76] In Vogel, 'Contenu et ordonnance', 243 (one of many examples), the *PRG* is hailed as 'le point de départ des pontificaux ultérieurs'. See also the flow diagram which first appeared in Vogel, 'Le PRG: date, nature et importance', and which was later reprinted in Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*, 235.

than that, since some of the philologically inferred history – above all the perceived importance of Mainz and Mainz sources – was fed back directly into the philology, making the entire creation circular and self-serving. The principal challenge for renewed engagement with these texts, therefore, is to bridge the chronological gap anew, re-examining our historical conception of these '*PRG*' manuscripts and establishing a suitable means of representing their testimony in edited form.

To that end, among the most pressing tasks is to topple the existing edition's artificial and outdated hierarchy of manuscript sources, by which the history and philology were inextricably intertwined. Andrieu clung resolutely to the idea that Group I manuscripts represented an antique form of the tradition – partly because he believed the sources to be earlier than they are, and partly because he had preconceptions about how the textual tradition had evolved – and Vogel and Elze did not demur, despite a strong challenge from the generally earlier-looking Group II.[77] That view must surely now be reconsidered. A simple reversal of Groups I and II might give the tradition a fresh new complexion, but the issue goes deeper than that. The real problem is in assigning heterogeneous manuscripts into two or more discrete groups when there is no clear division perceptible among surviving sources, and, more to the point, when many of the semblances of textual grouping tend to go firmly against the grain of manuscript chronology and context. Given that Vogel and Elze themselves believed in liturgical books as cultural objects, inseparable from the places in which they were copied, it is ironic that they could cling to two late eleventh-century Beneventan books (Group I) as valid representatives of tenth-century Mainz liturgy. What is required, therefore, is a historically sensitive reappraisal of the earliest sources, as far as that is possible without recourse to philology. Textual criticism clearly has a role to play, but it needs innovative treatment if we are retain the testimony of those problematic witnesses which Vogel and Elze sought to exclude, and it needs careful historical support such that sources from outside the central chronology and geography (such as those of late eleventh-century Montecassino) can be appreciated without prejudice to the other corners of the tradition.[78]

Another aspect of *PRG* orthodoxy that demands reconsideration is the assumption that these sources, as liturgical books, were necessarily active witnesses to local ritual practice and to local episcopal needs. Although modern liturgists might be inclined to endorse that statement, many of these sources exist in various and often ambiguous textual states, to the point of problematizing our very

[77] For information about the arrangement of groups see note 12, above.

[78] Such innovations might well be digital, as I consider further below; other approaches to editing liturgy are presently being explored within the *Ars Edendi* project, based in Stockholm: see n15.

vocabulary: *pontifical* and *liturgical book* are but two terms which merit significantly more scrutiny as a result.[79] Accordingly, the contents of these manuscripts regularly fail to accord with ritual traditions in the places they were copied, they often appear in non-episcopal contexts, and, as I have already described, they were often copied by scribes who display surprising levels of indifference towards the texts, employing a dense and continuous manner of inscription which is most uncharacteristic of liturgical sources more widely.[80] Whatever these books were, they do not fit comfortably into existing codicological categories, nor do they seem susceptible to any one satisfactory definition.

But the tradition's strange identity is not the only major issue at stake. Just as with collections of canon law from this period, the would-be editor must also contend with the fact that each scribe was at liberty to present and order his or her materials differently. Even if every collection had a more or less common basis, each was still a unique creation. This goes some way towards validating the basic editorial conception of Vogel and Elze, for all its faults, whereby the 258 individually edited chapters negotiate the precarious balance between *contenu* (the individual texts) and *ordonnance* (their arrangement as a whole).[81] It also suggests a good starting point for a modest future edition, where a basic section-by-section approach, arbitrarily ordered, might be complemented by rigorous appendices and comparative tables. But there quickly comes a point where this synthetic intent loses its meaning. If, as Tables 4.1 and 4.2 suggest, the *PRG* edition has already overstated the level of concordance among its sources, and has been rigged to favour only those witnesses which contribute to that impression, then a synoptic approach is fundamentally unsound. The various sources may present a recognizable core of texts based around *OR* 50 but, because that core was never transmitted without a substantial and highly variable body of ancillary texts, it means little to edit it alone. In fact, one source has since come to light which suggests that even *OR* 50 could be omitted: the mid-eleventh-century manuscript Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, Min. 94 displays a strong affinity to Bamberg Ms. Lit. 53, and is to all intents and purposes '*PRG*' in identity, but appears to have been copied without that

79 By Vogel's rather narrow reckoning, liturgical books must function directly in the service of worship, a definition which cannot fully account for '*PRG*' sources. See Vogel, 'Le PRG: nature, date et importance', 28–29. Andrieu memorably blamed the significant gulf between the *PRG* and other kinds of 'pontifical' on an inexperienced *PRG* scribe, an explanation which is patently untenable: 'Visiblement, le rédacteur primitif n'avait pas une claire notion de ce que devait être un pontifical'. See *OR*, 1:526. Both terms, it should be stressed, are anachronistic.

80 For some examples see Parkes, 'Liturgy and Music', 274–75.

81 See especially Vogel, 'Contenu et ordonnance'.

all-important section.[82] To the extent that the texts of the *Pontifical romano-germanique* can be understood as a tradition at all, therefore, they must surely be conceived of in terms of a nebulous scribal phenomenon without clearly defined boundaries. One might say that the sources exemplify a trend, but that trend does not necessarily explain the sources. Or to put it differently: to ask the question 'What was the *PRG*?' may be to seek a level of order in a tradition where none previously existed.

For this reason above all, the sanitized synthesis of the *PRG* edition needs to yield ground to the messy historical artefact, in line with the materialist principles of the so-called 'New' Philology.[83] Impractical as this may sound, this is an increasingly realistic proposition for the *PRG* tradition with the advent of digital facsimiles, and with the benefit of online indexing and analytical tools.[84] Such an approach is made all the more possible by Vogel and Elze's 1963 edition, which remains a substantial and invaluable source of reference provided it is used in a responsible way. Accordingly, references to the edition should take account of the sources and their dates, and they should always acknowledge the limited and biased sample of evidence. Andrieu's original *Ordines Romani* should always be consulted ahead of their compromised equivalents in the *PRG* edition, but with a similar degree of caution. And in view of the monolithic character of each collection one should always be mindful of the relationship of an individual 'chapter' to its neighbours, and to the overall scribal and intellectual context of the source. Finally, it must be re-emphasized that stories about Mainz, the monastery of St Alban, the period 950–63, archiepiscopal support, and imperial and papal reform are speculations bound up in a now discredited philological hypothesis.

What cannot be doubted is that a very significant textual tradition rose to prominence in late tenth- or early eleventh-century Germany, that its eclectic contents were broadly liturgical in scope, and that it metamorphosed wildly in its remarkable transmission across Europe in a manner which is not yet understood. There are far too many witnesses to claim that the *PRG* was a purely editorial fabrication. But this tradition is also far too interesting to be explained

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82 Rudolf Gamper et al., *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Ministerialbibliothek Schaffhausen* (Dietikon: Graf, 1994), 209–14.

83 For an introduction to this movement and its principles see the special edition of *Speculum* 65 (1990). See also Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, originally published as *Eloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

84 One such tool is Henry Parkes, *PRG Database: A Tool for Navigating* Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, currently available at http://database.prg.mus.cam.ac.uk. At the time of writing Bamberg, Ms. Lit. 53 is the only Vogel and Elze *PRG* source available; see online at http://bsbsbb.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/~db/0000/sbb00000131/images/. From the wider corpus of '*PRG*' sources many manuscripts have been digitized, and an updated list may be found at http://database.prg.mus.cam.ac.uk.

away by a one-sentence summary, to be given a single title, or to be trapped in a 'definitive' edition. That is not to denigrate the achievements of Vogel and Elze, whose expeditious completion of Andrieu's skeleton edition was justly hailed as 'one of the most monumental works of liturgical history'.[85] Rather, it is to draw attention to the inherent problems and limitations of philology in dealing with complex liturgical material. While some text critical approaches are more helpful than others, none can fully account for the extraordinary scribal, ritual, intellectual and institutional divergence which we encounter in the different sources of the *PRG* tradition. The sense of authority and immutability in Vogel and Elze's edition is, therefore, in part a lesson in the importance of editorial disclosure and propriety. But it is also a lesson for the reader. If an all-encompassing and easily digestible theory about medieval ritual practices seems too good to be true, it probably is.

[85] Botte's review of *PRG* volumes 1 and 2', 903: 'une des œuvres les plus monumentales de l'histoire liturgique'.

Chapter 5

Rethinking the Uses of Sarum and York: A Historiographical Essay

Matthew Cheung Salisbury

> And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm; some following Salisbury Use, some Hereford Use, and some the Use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one Use.[1]

The Preface to the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549 points out the 'great diversity' in the liturgical practices which it replaced. This served to emphasize that the Prayer Book was the very first uniform liturgical text to be used in the English Church. Traditionally this statement has been understood as identifying all the medieval liturgical Uses (the patterns of text, movement, music and ceremonial associated with a particular venue or region). This is, however, a misinterpretation. Rhetorically speaking, the point seems to be to draw attention to the 'great diversity' in the liturgical practices that were being superseded rather than to identify the specific Uses the book was replacing. All five Uses undoubtedly existed – in some sense of that word – but so did the Use of the church of All Saints, Shorthampton. I mention this rural Oxfordshire church as an example because every church, cathedral, monastery and other venue for worship had its own distinct and authentic pattern of liturgical practice, but few of these were transmitted more widely, and so came to be labelled as the Use of that place. The key point is simply that there was a great deal more variety in liturgical practice than has sometimes been thought and this is masked by the often-used labels 'Use of Sarum' and 'Use of York'.

Whilst it is clear that the Uses of Sarum and York came to dominate the southern and northern ecclesiastical provinces of late medieval England respectively it is much less easy than might be expected to determine precisely what was meant by those terms. Both were widely used and were promulgated both in statutes of individual institutions and in episcopal and provincial orders. However, when one looks closely at a liturgical book said to be 'secundum usum Sarum' it becomes clear this does not guarantee that its contents are the same as those of another book with the same ascription, nor would both

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[1] 'Concerning the Service of the Church', preface to *The Book of Common Prayer* (London: Edward Whitchurch, 1549 and succeeding editions).

books necessarily have contents which could be used together. The medieval identification of a liturgical book with a Use, often with an explicit ascription such as 'according to the use of Sarum' (*secundum usum Sarum*) sometimes seems to be more a label of accuracy and correctness than an association with the liturgy of Salisbury cathedral.[2]

The extent of the variation present in the manuscripts and early printed books associated with the major British uses is not widely appreciated. This is partly because books that have been labelled (either in the medieval or modern period) as being according to a particular Use are often not studied in detail, with individual copies assumed to possess the same characteristics as some already-surveyed exemplar. The second problem is that the available editions are misleading and often not representative of the surviving evidence; the modern edition of the Sarum Breviary, for instance, reprints a minority textual tradition. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a profusion of editions of medieval English liturgies, including ones associated with Sarum and York, emerged. The dominant methodology used by the editors of these books was the establishment of a fixed, authoritative text. In this analysis, I aim to show why so many editions were published at that time and why the prevailing editorial methodology must be resisted. This must be emphasized if scholars of the present and future wish to be liberated from inherited narratives and, instead, become sensitive to the nature, strengths and weaknesses of published editions of the liturgy in order to be able to use them carefully.

It will be shown that most of the early editions which have attained canonical status were produced in a time when scholars were particularly preoccupied with the re-discovery of ancient texts in their most genuine and incorrupt form (a tendency occasionally still seen), whereas the increasingly professionalized and 'scientific' disciplines of history, philology, musicology, and indeed 'medieval studies', have more recently insisted on an approach that is more faithful to the evidence. This must not, however, discredit the old editions entirely, but rather encourage us to take care to consider them for what they are: primarily transcriptions of single manuscripts or printed books, or in a few cases attempts at editorial judgement based on a few witnesses. Nor should their editors be faulted for their method, since their belief (in many cases) that their work was sufficient and representative was governed by the principle that medieval liturgical books themselves had texts and music which were the same in all cases, a principle which has only begun to be questioned in later years. It is not the intention of this study to suggest that liturgical scholars of the present should not make use of the substantial published legacy of their antecedents. Rather, it seeks to frame those publications within a historiographical context, so that

[2] This proposal is outlined in chapter 4 of my *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

those wishing to make use of what is available are apprised of the implications. In order to do this it is important to identify the intellectual underpinnings of this preoccupation with definitive editions, and to illustrate some of the personal convictions of the scholars in various disciplines who worked on liturgy.

We also need to understand that the concept of the liturgical Use contributes to the notion that liturgies possessed any kind of practical uniformity. While all service books associated with a Use share a common set of properties, rather than concentrating attention on the production or identification of an authoritative version, it is more helpful to consider all such witnesses within a wider context which can illustrate local and regional tendencies and preferences. It is with a brief summary of this matter that this analysis will start, in order to lay out a case for challenging the concept of the definitive edition of a liturgical text.

'Great Diversity in Saying and Singing'

Although studies of liturgical texts and practices have always fallen within the conventional remit of philologists, local historians and theologians, many people engaged in liturgical research have been self-selecting on the basis of some personal attachment to the topic. Among the ranks of antiquarians interested in the topic there was a substantial clerical contingent: according to Nigel Yates, in the nineteenth century those in holy orders accounted for some twenty per cent of antiquarian researchers in general. This figure represents for Yates part of a search, from the 1820s onward, for the illumination and renewal of the 'Christian Society' of the Middle Ages, a time when, in contrast with nineteenth-century British exigencies, religion and politics were not at odds.[3] This had a significant impact on the way the subject of the liturgy was approached.

One of the most influential early discussions of the medieval liturgical situation in England was written by the antiquarian Richard Gough (1735–1809). The second volume of his *British Topography* (new edn., 1780) includes a substantial account, within the section on Wiltshire, of the service books and liturgical practices of the cathedral church of Salisbury.[4] Gough reports the institution of the Use by 'bishop Osmund [in] 1077', an attribution now

[3] Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain, 1830–1910* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 43–44.

[4] His descriptions of the various services and the books which contained them are well-intended but not always accurate, at one point stating 'The Breviary … became a more compendious missal, containing the whole office of the mass …'. Quoted from Richard Gough, *British Topography*, new edn. (London, 1780), 2:321. These were 'egregious blunders', according to William Maskell, in *A Dissertation upon the Ancient Service Books of the Church of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), x.

known to be false.[5] He also describes the spread of the pattern of Salisbury Cathedral 'almost all over England, Wales, and Ireland …'. However, he also notes that 'the cathedrals of York, Lincoln, Hereford, Bangor, and Aberdeen, had their respective Uses', and mentions on the subject of Sarum's spread that 'the monks of Royston petitioned [Richard] Fitz-James, bishop of London, in the beginning of the 16th century, for leave to change that of Bangor for that of Sarum in their offices …'.[6] Gough insightfully points out that the situation was rather different on the Continent, where a considerably greater number of local Uses enjoyed an unfettered existence,[7] but writes that he will 'leave it to the connoisseurs in music to determine whether the Sarum *chant* differed from that of York, Bangor or Hereford', distinctions supposedly discernible among the repertories of the Continental Uses.[8]

Here Gough shows a reliance on the passage from the preface, 'Concerning the Service of the Church' found in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, which is presented as the epigraph to this chapter. Gough was not the only historian to become persuaded that the Prayer Book's assessment of liturgical variation in late medieval England (which, as suggested above, does not, in fact, presuppose that there existed *only* the five Uses stated, merely 'great diversity') was an accurate reflection of practice. The implication following from the Prayer Book's preface is that these Uses were a relatively fixed and identifiable set of liturgical texts, a belief which justifies the production of modern editions from one or a few allegedly homogeneous manuscript or printed sources.

The history outlined by Gough has been widely influential. It is certainly true that Sarum and York were important transregional patterns that enjoyed some substantial recognition, and indeed persistence, to the end of the Pre-Reformation English Church, and that Hereford Use, however restricted in remit, probably managed to survive in some form until the Prayer Book. However, to suggest as Gough did that churches adopted wholesale and unmodified one of the transregional Uses is to overlook the facts that each worshipping community had its own particular liturgical practices, codified or less codified, complex or less complex, and that these 'Uses', too, were understood as perfectly correct and normative when observed in their own constituencies. I have explained

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5 The claim is disputed in Diana Greenway's 'The False *Institutio* of St Osmund', in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 77–101.

6 '… alledging that the latter was imperfect in itself, and still more so in the performance from their torn and worn out books, which they were unwilling to change except for a better form'. Gough, *British Topography*, 2:319.

7 Gough, *British Topography*, 2:320.

8 Gough, *British Topography*, 2:323. Emphasis original.

elsewhere at length the justification for such a statement, both on the grounds of textual variation and on the principle that liturgical practice on more than a basic level must have varied from venue to venue even if practitioners were using exactly the same texts.[9]

The Exportation and Diversification of 'Sarum'

The Use of Salisbury Cathedral (commonly abbreviated to 'Sarum', often to distinguish the pattern which spread more widely from that of the cathedral) began as no more or less important, complex or codified than any other local practice. It is, however, easily accepted that 'Sarum' Use, at least in name, spread widely across the medieval South of England, a fact corroborated by the survival of liturgical books, by documents and foundation charters, and by contemporary historical accounts, but it has never been clear what the adoption of 'Sarum' might mean for a church or cathedral as regards particular changes in practice. Did 'adoption' mean the adoption of the Sarum liturgical kalendar, the list of feasts to be observed month by month? And from which exemplar would this kalendar have been drawn? Or did it mean the particular choice and order of proper texts used at Salisbury (and elsewhere) for the observance of feastdays? Or did it involve the appropriation of some practices from, for instance, the Sarum Ordinal and Customary, or the provision of new Sarum liturgical books? On the basis of the surviving evidence, the only answer must be that it varied according to circumstances, and therefore, for example, that any five worshipping communities who apparently observed the liturgical practices of 'Sarum' would have realized the particulars of services, readings, kalendars and other aspects in five very different ways. Moreover, unless the adoption of Sarum had taken place at the same time everywhere with an absolutely invariable set of texts, the exemplar followed by each of the five venues must have been different, considering that the Salisbury liturgy underwent several stages of development over several hundred years from its application at the new Cathedral of 1220 until its final suppression in the sixteenth century.[10] It is therefore fallacious to suggest that the *precise* liturgical pattern of Salisbury Cathedral was in any way adopted elsewhere, and dangerous to make the generalization that some text 'secundum usum Sarum', whether manuscript or printed book, whether contemporary or more ancient, accurately represents either the practice of

[9] Indeed the same variation may have existed within the many books belonging to a cathedral foundation of moderate size, because each, unless copied exactly from the same exemplar, would have been different from every other in a wide range of details which may or may not have affected the actual performance of the liturgy. See my *Secular Liturgical Office*.

[10] Salisbury, *Secular Liturgical Office*.

Salisbury or (more controversially) any venue in which 'Sarum' liturgy was said to have been used.

The assertion that there was never a fixed Use of Sarum or York in the Middle Ages can be supported by the recent work of Richard Pfaff (who draws together new research to show that an invariable Sarum Use is fallacious),[11] and Sherry Reames, in several important studies of the Breviary texts.[12] My own study of the kalendars and texts of 132 Sarum, York and English Benedictine manuscripts, proposes a heterogeneous promulgation of the Sarum liturgy which produced tensions between the dissemination of the Salisbury Cathedral rite, as it stood, to a wider constituency, and the creation of a more generic 'Sarum' liturgy modified for use in a wide range of venues.[13] Evidently, then, the provision of a critical edition or an edition otherwise purportedly authoritative for any more than a closely related family of witnesses is problematic at best.

'Essentially a Philological Enterprise': Editions, Evidence, Motives

The diversity evident in the surviving books and manuscripts is not, however, well represented in the editions of Sarum and York texts that were made in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Instead, editors were interested in establishing good fixed forms of liturgical books. This was an outgrowth of a more general preoccupation with the establishment of texts. The prevailing climate was no doubt inspired by the Classical education of the practitioners and researchers of the nineteenth-century liturgical establishment.

That the purpose and function of Classical education (and scholarly enterprise) has always been the production of authoritative and faithful editions of primary texts must have made the perceived need for exemplary texts of the medieval English liturgy very strong indeed. This is one of the contexts in which the majority of modern editions were produced with great energy in the late nineteenth century. Witnesses of the Sarum Missal were published by F.H. Dickinson in 1861 and later by John Wickham Legg (1916), with the Sarum Breviary by Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth (1879–86), and the Ordinal and Customary edited and printed by Walter

11 Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), ch. 13.

12 Most recently, Sherry L. Reames, 'Unexpected Texts for Saints in some Sarum Breviary Manuscripts', in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, ed. George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010), 163–84.

13 *Secular Liturgical Office*, ch. 4.

Howard Frere somewhat later (1898–1901).[14] The York Missal was edited by W.G. Henderson (1872–74) and the Breviary by Stephen Lawley (1879–82).[15] The Hereford Breviary was edited by Frere and L.E.G. Brown in three volumes for the Henry Bradshaw Society between 1904 and 1915.[16] Other notable publications include facsimile editions of the Sarum Antiphonal and Gradual by Frere under the auspices of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society.[17] Many of these projects were supported, if not published, by learned bodies such as the Henry Bradshaw Society, founded in 1890 'for the editing of rare liturgical texts', which were modelled on the antiquarian and regional historical societies that had been founded in great numbers in the early nineteenth century. It is worth pointing out that Procter and Wordsworth, at least, believed that a critical approach more rigorous than a mere transcription from a single printed edition was both possible and desirable, but realized that such a transcription was 'more manageable'.[18]

This study does not seek to question the groundwork laid by these editions, refute their contents, or indeed to suggest that they are unhelpful. But with Giuseppe Mazzotta, we now begin to question the ultimate satisfactoriness of their aim, that is, 'to reflect on the tendentious manipulations and ideological biases of those nineteenth-century masters, who were intent on concocting and peddling specific paradigms of textual origins for the vindication of one sort or another of political primacy'.[19] Whilst the canonical editions of liturgical observances may help to give an accurate picture for a few sources, representative

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[14] *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F.H. Dickinson (Burntisland: Pitsligo, 1861–63); *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, ed. John Wickham Legg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916); *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Francis Procter and Christopher Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1879–86); *The Use of Sarum: The Original Texts Edited from the Mss*, ed. W.H. Frere, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898–1901).

[15] *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. W.G. Henderson, Surtees Society 59, 60 (Durham: Surtees Society 1872–74); *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. Stephen Lawley, Surtees Society 71, 75 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1879–82).

[16] *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. W.H. Frere and L.E.G. Brown, HBS 26, 40, 46 (London: HBS, 1904–15).

[17] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a manuscript of the thirteenth century*, ed. W.H. Frere (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1901–24; repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966); and *Graduale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Quaritch, 1894, repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966).

[18] *Breviarium ... Sarum*, ed. Procter and Wordsworth, 2:vii. The unrepresentativeness of this edition was pointed out in the late nineteenth century but seems rarely to be remembered: see *Use of Sarum*, ed. Frere, 1:xli.

[19] Giuseppe Mazzotta, 'The Poet and the Critics', in *Dante Now: Current Trends in Dante Studies* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 63–79, at 67.

or otherwise, they must be considered as *witnesses* only, not as textual archetypes, and certainly not as transregionally valid without substantiation. In order to understand how these editions can usefully be used today it is necessary to understand more about the motivations and operating principles of some of the key players involved.

The origins of quantitative, evidence-based philological work for medieval texts had long been laid: Stuart Piggott writes that the necessary conditions for the scholarly study of antiquities had been produced by the seventeenth century, as a result of the 'nascent scientific disciplines'.[20] More importantly, Piggott points to the rise in interest in the Anglo-Saxon period during the later sixteenth century, for the purposes of national unity and identity, as part of an attempt to underpin 'the new fabric of government and society'.[21] The central motivation behind the multifarious efforts toward the reconstruction of the texts, music, architectural and material trappings of the medieval Church in Britain, was in many cases the same: namely, to show that the English Church was able to date its distinctive and self-sufficient identity from a much earlier time than the English Reformation. This search for the origins of pre-Reformation English Christianity followed the Catholic Relief Act of 1829 which was the final repeal of all anti-Catholic legislation in Britain. It was a striving for a past time when religion was not controversial or divisive, an important task for the Victorian scholar-priest. In practice antiquarians were also seeking evidence to support modifications, and augmentations of the Prayer Book liturgy. Justification for these changes could be found, according to the ritualists, in the so-called 'Ornaments Rubric' promulgated in the 1559 Elizabethan recension of the Prayer Book:

> the chauncels shall remain, as they have done in tymes past. And here is to be noted, that the Minister at the time of the communion, and at all other tymes in hys ministracion, shall use suche ornamentes in the church, as wer in use by aucthoritie of parliament in the second yere of the reygne of king Edward the VI.[22]

The 'catholic' nature of the Elizabethan prayer book has also been linked to its words of administration at Holy Communion.[23] It seems to reintroduce an understanding of the sacraments that was suppressed in the first and second Prayer Books of Edward VI which had a more ardently Protestant character. It is easy to see why the so-called 'Ritualists' would have seen the Ornaments Rubric

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[20] Stuart Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 20.

[21] Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape*, 59, 64.

[22] From the order for Morning Prayer, in the Book of Common Prayer, 1559.

[23] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 567.

as an authoritative justification for the reintroduction of pre-Reformation decoration, vestments, architecture and liturgy. Proof of the catholicity of the Church itself could be found in the uncovering of a rite with apparently ancient origins, based on evidence from several surviving examples of the earliest known English liturgy. The natural approach to this issue would be an editorial project of the sort that has been described, with its objective being the synthesis of the earliest, most authoritative texts, and with the act of its creation taking precedence over the collation of several different versions and attention to their diversity. With a view to apostolicity, an ancient and preferably Roman origin for the English liturgy was highly desirable.

Among the various Anglo-Catholic camps, Ritualists were for the elaboration of ritual similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church, although the particular expression of this desire fell into two camps. Some were in favour of adopting *contemporary* Roman Catholic aesthetics and practice. Others, like the Reverend Percy Dearmer (1867–1936), vicar of St Mary's Primrose Hill and author of the *Parson's Handbook*, propounded a distinctively English realization of the liturgy and arts of the pre-Reformation Church.[24] This was the context in which the Alcuin Club was established in 1897: 'to encourage and assist in the practical study of ceremonial, and the arrangement of churches, their furniture and ornaments in accordance with the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer'.[25] Not all of those involved in liturgical research were Ritualists, or Ritualists alone. High-Churchmen had a particular concern for the apostolic succession and authority of bishops and priests, and for the grace conveyed by the sacraments, which were celebrated in the context of formal worship. Tractarians, by definition, were those who were in particular sympathy with the membership and output of the Oxford Movement and its *Tracts for the Times*. The conditions were set for very considerable scholarly attention directed to and, in fact, no small reliance on, the establishment of the particular characteristics of pre-Reformation worship in England. All of these parties looked, with their own particular motivations, to the establishment of continuity of the Church of England from the medieval Church.

No matter the title ascribed to them, these efforts to reconstruct the trappings of the medieval English Church were not solely an aesthetic adjunct to a wider theological programme. In fact, they were seen as vital, since their historical exemplar had engaged the unlettered, uncultured, medieval layman with ceremonial, music and art writ large in its liturgies, buildings and other

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24 *The Parson's Handbook: Containing Practical Directions both for Parsons and Others as to the Management of the Parish Church and Its Services according to the Anglican Use, as Set Forth in the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. Percy Dearmer, 12th edn. (London: Humphrey Milford, 1932).

25 Quoted in Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, 336.

trappings of worship. This stance was embraced in particular by the Cambridge Camden Society, later the Ecclesiological Society.[26] Aside from the widely held aspiration for the medieval, and therefore compelling, trappings of church, the Camden Society held the belief that a Church which claimed a long and unbroken history stretching back to the Middle Ages should have appropriate church buildings and fixtures. Founding members John Mason Neale (1818–66) (better known for his contributions to hymnody) and Benjamin Webb (1819–85), despite their relative youth, were (to Stuart Piggott) 'vehement, tactless, and arrogant ... [with a] hideous consciousness of their own liturgical superiority'.[27] The Ecclesiologists employed quantitative, positivist methods to derive their desired model: 'The only safe way to arrive at any general principles', they wrote, 'is to observe and describe the details ... and from a large collection of such observations, if carefully recorded, much advantage may accrue to the science.'[28] The enormous interest in Sarum Use may be attributed, at least in part, to the assertion that it was an identifiable and historically viable, as well as irrefutably English, dialect of the liturgy of the medieval Church, and a vital part of the heritage of the (catholic) Church of England. A rediscovery of plainchant as an essential component of normative medieval worship was also considered important. Chant was to be a tangible expression of theological emphases; it was, '... to some extent, the aesthetic realization of high churchmanship ...'.[29] The revival in the Anglican church was also concomitant with the re-establishment of plainchant in Roman Catholic churches in Britain after the gradual repeal over the eighteenth century of the penal codes that made the trappings of worship impossible to enact.[30] In some respects the Church was also re-establishing the practice of Archbishop Cranmer, who had ordered 'the ancient Plain-Song' to be added to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI (1549).[31] Not all were in sympathy with this restoration, however. Of one parochial visit, the High-Churchman and future archbishop Edward White Benson (1829–96) wrote, 'All the music was Gregorian, gloomy'.[32] This stance, underlining an assessment of plainsong as otherworldly and hence abstruse, through the dissimilarity of plainsong to contemporary forms of sacred and secular music, was completely contradicted

[26] There is a substantial account of the Society and its activities in James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

[27] Piggott, *Ruins in a Landscape*, 178.

[28] White, *Cambridge Movement*, 50.

[29] Bennett Zon, *The English Plainchant Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 251.

[30] Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, 7.

[31] Thomas Helmore, *Plain-Song* (London: Novello & Co., 1877), 53.

[32] Yates, *Anglican Ritualism*, 179.

by opinions such as those of the Catholic convert (and Oxford contemporary of John Henry Newman) the Reverend Henry Formby, who in 1848 suggested that it was this very character that made chant suitable to its purpose – namely, as an exposition of the mystery of faith.[33]

The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society played a substantial role in the revival of interest in medieval liturgical music. A tremendous amount of time and money was devoted to the production of Walter Howard Frere's *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* and the corresponding *Graduale*, both of which were issued in fascicles for a substantial period, under the direction of the 'small but learned group of "Sarum" scholars who formed [the] inner council',[34] a state which meant the Society by 1926 was 'little more than a propaganda group for adopting the Sarum chant (and no other) for English words'.[35] (Dom Anselm Hughes, a long-term member of the Society's Council, does point out that enthusiasm was dampened somewhat by the discovery that the liturgy of Salisbury Cathedral appeared to be very much Norman in origin.[36]) Similar sentiments are found in the words of Thomas Helmore, leading light in the Gregorian Association and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, who argued in the 1870s that 'the people's chant ... [should be] the same kind vocally now as in any century before us'.[37] He argued that the 'usages and traditions handed down from age to age' should not have been avoided simply because of the English Reformation.[38] 'In our opinion', confirmed the *Ecclesiologist*, vehicle of the Ecclesiological Society, 'the Plain Song of the Church is not only the most right, and the most beautiful method, of praising God, but also practically the most easy ...'.[39]

The search for historically inspired forms of worship was not, of course, restricted to those members of the Church of England who were particularly concerned with establishing the unbroken descent of the Anglican church from the Church universal. Some of the objectives of that particular liturgical revival were the same as those of the wider Liturgical Movement. This was a

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33 Zon, *English Plainchant Revival*, 235. One advertisement for recordings of chant read: '[Gramophone records] will be the allies of choirmasters, teaching choirs to interpret with exactitude the melodies which the *Motu Proprio* prescribes. By the aid of science, the literal voice of the Church may be heard in the land.' Printed in Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 134 illus.

34 Anselm Hughes, *Septuagesima: Reminiscences of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, and of Other Things Personal and Musical* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1959), 21.

35 Hughes, *Septuagesima*, 34.

36 Hughes, *Septuagesima*, 33.

37 Helmore, *Plain-Song*, 152.

38 Helmore, *Plain-Song*, 48.

39 Cited in White, *Cambridge Movement*, 216.

contemporary development which strove to re-assert the central role of public worship in Christian life. In part it was a reaction to what was considered an over-prioritization of the worldly implications of Christian living and in opposition to the tendency, at least among Roman Catholics, to practise various forms of private devotion in lieu of public worship in the form of the Eucharist. One of the most celebrated outgrowths of both the Liturgical Movement and the Romantic search for ancient origins was the Abbaye-de-Saint-Pierre at Solesmes (near Sablé in France), re-founded in 1837 on the site of an ancient priory by former parish priest Prosper Guéranger.[40] Katherine Bergeron, who has studied the foundation of the community in detail, compares the establishment of Solesmes to other post-Revolutionary efforts in France which tried to reconstruct through arts and spirituality a society which was thought to have lost both.[41] Guéranger and his followers believed that the most useful and authentic realization of the desired flavour of Benedictine spirituality could be achieved through accurate reconstruction not only of the buildings and administrative structure of the community, but also of its worship and music. To this end a growing number of scholar-monks were commissioned to probe the earliest medieval sources.[42] In any case the overall methodology had been anticipated by the community's first abbot: 'On possède la phrase gregorienne dans sa pureté', Dom Guéranger had written, '[si] les exemplaires de plusieurs églises éloignées s'accordent ….'[43] The establishment of authoritative forms of service in the style of performing editions was a necessary condition for the success of the enterprise. 'Solesmes guards an unchangeable idea', claimed Dom Gregorio Suñol, 'and in order to apprehend it rightly we must free ourselves from the tyranny of fashion, acquire the Gregorian temperament and recapture the antique soul.'[44]

In response to a growing desire for direction in light of the mixed messages on the subject issued by his predecessor Pope Leo XIII (*r.* 1878–1903), and under pressure from his musical adviser Angelo di Santi, who sympathized with the monks of Solesmes,[45] Pius X (*r.* 1903–14) decisively responded

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[40] For further observations on the re-foundation of Solesmes and its contributions to the chant revival, see Pierre Combe, *The Restoration of Gregorian Chant: Solesmes and the Vatican Edition*, trans. Theodore N. Marier and William Skinner (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2003); and Katharine Ellis, *The Politics of Plainchant in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

[41] Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 4.

[42] Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 93.

[43] Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, 3 vols. (Le Mans: Fleuriot, 1840–51), i, 306.

[44] Gregorio Suñol, *Text Book of Gregorian Chant According to the Solesmes Method*, trans. G.M. Durnford (Tournai: Desclee and Society of St John the Evangelist, 1930), vii.

[45] Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 130.

to the plainchant revival with the *motu proprio* 'Tra le sollecitudini' of 22 November 1903. He criticized the poor quality of contemporary sacred music as 'one of the [most common problems] … even when everything else … deserves the highest praise'.[46] The use of chant was a solution to the musical problem; indeed, the best qualities of sacred music, namely the 'holiness … beauty [and] universality' which were to be elements of all liturgy were '… found most perfectly in Gregorian chant, which is therefore the proper chant of the Roman Church, [handed down from the Fathers], which has been so happily restored to its original perfection and purity by recent study'.[47] A sounder affirmation of the value of the work at Solesmes and elsewhere could not be desired. The document also gives some indication of the Pope's own preferences; it is interesting to note that under the heading 'Various Kinds of Sacred Music', he states that 'the more a musical composition for use in church is like plainchant … so much the more is it right and liturgical'.[48]

The sometimes emotional or spiritual connexion between subject and researcher is sometimes as present for modern scholars as for the monks of Solesmes; Katherine Bergeron, for example, talks about having a particular affinity for her topic: 'I felt I was … rediscovering my own [tradition]'.[49] In effect, whilst liturgical texts might be very fitting and conventional subjects for philological study, the driving force for many who have carried out the work has often been related to a doctrinal or aesthetic objective. For some the establishment of a fixed and identifiable text of the liturgy of medieval England was an indicator of continuity with the rest of the Church catholic (and, in the case of some in the Church of England, the identification of Sarum Use as a particularly insular form of the Roman rite); for others the musical and architectural supports to worship were meant to inspire an almost medieval fervency of devotion. These motivations were joined by a pan-Western Romantic rediscovery of ancient, long-lost origins and mythologies. All of these influences produced a scholarly milieu in which the establishment of authoritative editions was paramount. Even if their discoveries were not helping to shape a renewal of liturgical forms in practice, the editions themselves stood as a tangible record of medieval activity, which could be mobilized in order to support a variety of political or doctrinal stances.

46 Pius X, *Tra le sollecitudini*, quoted in Suñol, *Text Book*, 165.

47 Suñol, *Text Book*, 167.

48 Suñol, *Text Book*, 167.

49 Bergeron writes (*Decadent Enchantments*, xi): 'It was a tradition that had slipped by a whole generation of Catholics who, like me, had come of age after the Second Vatican Council, a generation raised on the flat vernacular of the suburban Church, with its plain-clothed celebrants and folksy guitar masses. For us, knowledge of the Latin liturgy had become esoteric, relegated to university curricula.'

Different Cloth: Edmund Bishop and William Maskell

If it appears that liturgical work was all carried out by researchers cut from the same cloth, two notable exceptions should be mentioned. The Reverend William Maskell, unlike many of his contemporaries, was not interested in the restoration of the liturgy in practice, and Edmund Bishop's investigations, which utilized an unusual degree of complexity in his information gathering, anticipate attitudes to the transmission of liturgical Uses which modern scholars are only now beginning to be able to substantiate. Maskell (1814–90), parish priest in the diocese of Salisbury and eventual Roman Catholic convert, was a theologian and also an accomplished bibliophile, who assembled collections of books and sold them to libraries:[50] many notable items from his liturgical collection are now in the British Library. Maskell's research, at least at an early stage, was by his own admission 'the illustration of our Common Prayer Book from ancient documents, and its original sources'.[51] In 1850, the year of his conversion to the Catholic Church, he wrote, 'I have never been drawn to, never been inclined to adopt, what people call (and rightly call) Roman practices, and books, and forms.'[52] Maskell in fact seems to have thought very poorly of Ritualists, particularly after his conversion, and if his objective had been to illustrate the history of the Prayer Book, this changed, to reject entirely the work of its compilers. In his pamphlet *Protestant Ritualists* (1872), he describes the order for Holy Communion as

> a pure jumble, unlike any ancient liturgy which was ever used in the Christian church. The compilers appear to have cut the Sarum ordinary and canon of the mass into pieces, and mixed the fragments with bits taken out of the Middleburg and other forms compiled by protestants abroad, and then taken them, as it were hap-hazard, out of a bag and stitched them together.[53]

Maskell's own involvement (as bishop's chaplain) in a particularly public and contentious case regarding baptismal theology[54] certainly coloured his opinions of the theology of the Ritualists, who in his mind

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50 Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership*, Sandars Lectures 1929–30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 143.

51 From the Dedication to vol. 3 of his *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 3 vols. (London: W. Pickering, 1846–47), unpaginated.

52 William Maskell, *A Second Letter on the Present Position of the High Church Party in the Church of England*, subtitled *The Want of Dogmatic Teaching in the Reformed English Church* (London: W. Pickering, 1850), 11.

53 William Maskell, *Protestant Ritualists*, 2nd edn. (London: J. Toovey, 1872), 30.

54 The Gorham controversy, surrounding the presentation of the eponymous priest to a living, which diminished Maskell's faith in the Church of England; for which see *Gorham*

> … are content to be suffered to hold their particular opinions … to claim no higher authority than that which sends their next door neighbour into his pulpit to contradict them in every possible way … to be allowed to put on copes and chasubles and make 'high celebrations' upon the strength of an old rubric which refers to the second year of Edward VI, although they well know that the vast majority of English ministers are no less borne out when they wear unseemly surplices and say the office of communion with every mark of carelessness ….[55]

A Ritualist, for Maskell, 'admits the lowest evangelical to his communion table because he has no authority to rest upon or to appeal to beyond his own private judgment',[56] a stance which echoes his own involvement with Gorham. Clearly Maskell's criticisms did not only lie with doctrine, for the matter of order and doctrine was laced together with remarks on the Ritualist attitude to liturgical reconstruction. The Ritualists were no more 'within the one true fold than their more protestant brethren, because they endeavour to base their ritual and liturgical restorations on Roman principles ….'[57] If his intentions had been at one time to illustrate 'the ancient liturgies of the Church of England', the second edition of his *Monumenta Ritualia* (issued in 1882) was far more kind to the Roman church than the first, published in 1846–47. Maskell was hardly a dispassionate, uninvolved researcher, but his tracts and other works demonstrate some views in direct contradiction to those of the Ritualists.

Maskell's contemporary Edmund Bishop (1846–1917) was a comparatively rare lay contributor to liturgiology, and just as opinionated about the necessity of Roman Catholic attention to the project of liturgical research. Bishop was a largely self-educated civil servant whose position allowed him a good deal of flexibility and free time with which to carry out his investigations. Like Maskell, he was a book-collector, and his substantial collection is now at Downside Abbey, where he spent a great deal of time living alongside the Benedictine community. As a layman, unaffiliated scholar and a Catholic, he was perhaps thwarted by Church of England '"clerical" monopolies'[58] on the subject, and sometimes exercised strong opinions about those persons whose work did not meet with his

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v. the bishop of Exeter, a report of the arguments of counsel, before the judicial committee of the Privy council. To which is added, the judgment (London, 1850).

[55] Maskell, *Protestant Ritualists*, 13. John Henry Newman had already remarked on the apparent hypocrisy of Anglo-Catholics in his 1848 novel *Loss and Gain*: '"You forget," said Bateman to White, "you have, or might have, all this [the trappings of Catholic worship] in your church, without the Romish corruptions."' *Loss and Gain*, new edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 34.

[56] Maskell, *Protestant Ritualists*, 30.

[57] Maskell, *Protestant Ritualists*, 8.

[58] Nigel Abercrombie, *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop* (London: Longmans, 1959).

requirements. Of the 1879 edition by F.E. Warren (of St John's College, Oxford) of the Irish Missal of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Bishop wrote:

> Although the volume does not bear evidence of any very advanced stage of liturgical research within the University of Oxford, it is at least a welcome sign of the increasing activity in that department which the Editor assures us is manifesting itself in that ancient home of learning ... It is to be hoped that Catholics, to whom this branch of learning is, or should be, a natural inheritance, may not, through their own supineness and neglect, find it occupied by strangers.[59]

Bishop's hostility toward academe may be explained by his being 'one of the last great English autodidacts', in the words of David Knowles.[60] Though his work on regional cults of saints (to be discussed below) contributed to Roman Catholic liturgical renewal in England and Wales, Bishop seems to have been disdainful of some of the quasi-Ritualist activities of certain Catholic parties: he did not seem to approve of some of the 'modernizations' of Downside, commenting on 'some embellishments [in the liturgy] copied from or modelled on ... proprieties of Anglican "cathedral" "celebrations"'.[61] Of the renewal of monastic life at Solesmes, Bishop believed Dom Guéranger, first abbot of the community, to be

> a mere rechauffé of ideas which later research and method have superseded, whilst for the later period he is so passionate a partizan, and his work partakes, in spite of its size, so much of the character of a party pamphlet to serve a practical end, that he is to be used only with an amount of caution and discrimination that implies almost as much knowledge of the subject as that possessed by the author himself.[62]

He did subscribe to the nascent Henry Bradshaw Society at the request of John Wickham Legg, despite an undoubtedly unfriendly reaction to the attempt by the Protestants on the committee to serve as the sole office-holders.[63]

Bishop's hostility towards the gentleman-scholar's methodology which had dominated liturgical research for some time was supplemented by rigorous and methodical methods of his own devising, almost unprecedented at the time. Despite this energetic labour very little of his work was published within his lifetime: the few publications which came to light were relegated mainly to small-circulation Catholic periodicals and the *Downside Review*. His *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), published posthumously, remains

59 Quoted in Abercrombie, *Bishop*, 100.
60 Knowles, in the preface to Abercrombie, *Bishop*, xi.
61 Quoted in Abercrombie, *Bishop*, 120.
62 Quoted in Abercrombie, *Bishop*, 273.
63 Abercrombie, *Bishop*, 162.

a useful body of essays on diverse topics of liturgical or antiquarian interest. But it is seemly here to illustrate an even more useful contribution of Bishop's, for which he has had little credit. He devoted substantial time to the study of liturgical kalendars and martyrologies as his contribution to a new English Catholic *Menology* (1887);[64] this had been commissioned by the bishops' conference, which had resolved to ask Rome for an augmentation in liturgical terms for the observance of the feastdays of local English saints. The principal research by Bishop for this new publication was to provide both names and hagiographies for a very substantial range of saints, many of whom had never before received official sanction. Bishop's painstaking transcriptions from a vast number of manuscript kalendars, in much greater detail than is represented in the final *Menology*, are now in the British Library in a series of notebooks which the editor, Father Richard Stanton, hoped 'may become generally available, as their publication would furnish an invaluable help to students of English Hagiology in all its branches'.[65]

Bishop's notebooks (now London, British Library, Additional Mss 36598–36602 and 39212) consist of lists and transcriptions organized synthetically and then by series of transcriptions of kalendars from Harley, Cotton and Royal manuscripts in the British Museum, expanding to include manuscripts from the Cotton, Arundel, Burney, Lansdowne, Sloane and King's collections. Fascinating to any liturgical scholar, they contain autograph sketches of some of the more ambiguous abbreviations and names, his notes on unusual lives of saints, and transcriptions of rare proper materials, including a rhymed office for St Neot, and a small amount of square notation. They betray some considerable concern for how his research would inform the modern practice of liturgy: in a section labelled 'jottings re. Martyrol.' he talks about 'the necessity for drawing the distinction between practical and devotional calendars' (a distinction which still concerns all who work on compiling such evidence of devotion); and how to deal with the convergence of the 'true' date of a feast in medieval kalendars with the date in the nineteenth-century Roman martyrology.[66] Another particular concern, entirely familiar to any researcher interested in regional considerations, was whether (and how) to use the current or medieval boundaries of dioceses and counties.[67] Most importantly, the transcriptions served as reference material for 'Skeleton Calendars' in each volume, which seem to have been the basis upon which that in the *Menology* was devised.

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64 A more inclusive synonym for 'martyrology'.

65 *A menology of England and Wales or, Brief Memorials of their ancient British and English saints*, ed. Richard Stanton (London: Burns and Oates, 1887), ix.

66 Bishop notebook 1, British Library, Additional Ms. 36598, fol. 2.

67 Bishop notebook 1, British Library, Additional Ms. 36598, fol. 7.

The notebooks also illustrate Bishop's response to the Anglican appropriation of 'Sarum' as a distinctive and important medieval English liturgical forebear. In a section entitled 'Memoranda preparatory for a conversation with Revd Fr Stanton of the Oratory', Bishop wrote, 'The supposition cherished by *Anglicanism* in regard to "Sarum", who would raise it to a sort of national rite might well induce Catholics to investigate the origin, follow the extension & fix the best limits of the rite'.[68] Of the substantial spread of the cathedral liturgy of Salisbury, a subject of great interest, Bishop speculates:

> Its prevalence in England depended on 2 main causes: 1. the existence here of monastic cathedrals, whereby in many dioceses the Cathedral by the very nature of the case, could not serve as the liturgical model. 2. (the cause of less importance, but still a cause) the great size of the diocese of Lincoln and the situation of its Cathedral at the far end of it, whereby its influence, though it was held by secular canons, was necessarily weakened; moreover the invasion of Sarum in the Lincoln borders was facilitated by the fact that the diocese straggled down thro' dioceses with monastic cathedrals (Ely, Norwich, Coventry) the clergy of which had been reduced to seek for some rite not that of the cathedral.[69]

Inspired and informed by his investigation into the liturgical observance of saints, and his mastery of much of the extant material, Bishop was even able to comment substantively on the genericization of the Salisbury liturgy, its adoption within the widest range of local circumstances, and the increasing lack of fixity between manuscript evidence and apparent practice of the cathedral church and the 'Use of Sarum' adopted elsewhere. He realized that medieval churches that adopted Sarum would nonetheless have retained aspects of their pre-existent liturgy.[70]

Edmund Bishop's liturgical research did not bear fruit in the usual profusion of editions; rather, great quantities of his work, based on experience with a great many manuscripts, remains to be re-discovered within his notebooks. The

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[68] Bishop notebook 5, British Library, Additional Ms. 36602, fol. 223v.

[69] Ibid.

[70] 'This gradual extension of the Sarum rite is contemporaneous with/marked by a gradual building up of the Sarum Kalendar until is obtained the form presented by the late prints. These printed books have made us overlook the earlier & simpler forms. I take it there was a practical barter: you take our books in your Church: we will take your Sts into our Kalendar. But is it ? question of all the feasts in the later Sarum Bks were observed in all places which these books were in use [sic] ? *Progress towards Nationalization*. During the 15th Century there was a certain progress in the way of the Nationalization of Sarum, which on its side, so far as the Calendar goes, becomes gradually *un-diocesanized*.' Bishop notebook 5, British Library, Additional Ms. 36602, fol. 224v.

profundity of his knowledge touched upon issues which are still before scholars, namely the growth and development of the English Uses.

Conclusions

This analysis has sought to undermine the conventional understanding of the English liturgical Uses, held by medieval clerics and modern scholars, namely that there was such a thing as (for instance) inflexible 'Sarum' liturgy. In fact there was a degree of commonality in the choice and order of liturgical texts and chants associated with Salisbury Cathedral, but there was also much more divergence than previous generations have assumed, mainly because a textual pattern, even if copied wholesale from book to book, designed for one venue, could not possibly have been practised in the same way across wide swathes of medieval England. The ceremonial of a large cathedral could not possibly translate wholly into a small parish church with different furniture and clerical levels of professionalism. The same may be said for 'York Use' following the practices of the metropolitical church of York. Hereford, Lincoln and Bangor Uses (as mentioned in the Prayer Book's Preface) also existed, but these were the distinct patterns of liturgical text and ceremony practised at their respective cathedrals, wholly distinct from the practice of any other church, just as were Sarum and York.

The practice of liturgical research has shifted over the course of the twentieth century from a focus on the 'oldest' to a preoccupation with the 'most', and from the production of 'editions' to the production of 'lists'. There are, of course, implications for reading and analysis, because for the first time dissenting or discordant voices are permitted within a heterogeneous textual world, something so illegal to one scholar that he devised a method of eliminating infrequent variants from his quest for the earliest version.[71] Intertextual readings are made possible, and the liturgical 'act', conceived of as all iterations, written and otherwise, of an observance, including the way it was performed, begins to cohere as a concept never perfectly preserved in written prescriptions.[72]

The editions of the medieval English liturgy produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have, since their publication, been presented to the modern researcher as the unassailable voice of authority, without qualification, and the researcher may be tempted to accept them, in the absence of any more

[71] See the sixth volume of *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, 6 vols., RED series maior, fontes 7–12 (Rome: Herder, 1963–79).

[72] See my 'Establishing a Liturgical "Text": Text for Performance, Performance as Text', in *The Experience of Late Medieval Worship*, ed. Paul Barnwell, Sally Harper and Magnus Williamson (forthcoming).

recent scholarship, as such. But future historical, literary and musicological investigations of topics where the liturgy is of interest must be aware of the mutability of the liturgical act. This raises questions about how much of the rite could have been based on, or adherent to, written prescriptions. Further questions are raised as to the purpose and function of liturgical books as one type of aide-mémoire within a complex network of aural/oral transmission, memory and precedent which must put paid to the notion of modest parish churches carrying out the exact liturgical practices of a cathedral.[73]

Attention to the variation in liturgical books can provide observations about the medieval Church and its liturgy at least as useful as those observations made possible by identifying what material is common among witnesses of the several Uses. Comparisons of liturgical kalendars, responsory series, post-Pentecost Alleluias, and of the contents of the Sanctorale, as well as more conventional textual analysis, will offer a more nuanced picture of the character of a liturgical book and how it may fit within its wider context. The modern researcher may have much to learn from M.R. James, who wrote of his own contribution to manuscript studies: 'If I have had a part to play, it has been that of making known, with what fullness of description I could, the existence of a mass of material, and assigning dates and provenances which in the main are, I hope, correct'.[74] It is with this optimistic statement that the reader is encouraged not to consign the idea of the medieval liturgy to the Procrustean bed of reductive and unrepresentative editions, but, rather, to respect variants as part of the signature, or unique character, of each manuscript or print, in future investigations. Such future work needs to be informed by the principle that every written witness to a liturgical observance, whether manuscript or print, is necessarily the result of interpretation on the part of its creators, scribes, redactors and users.

[73] Further attention to these topics is paid by Carol Symes, chapter 10 of this book.

[74] Richard Pfaff, *Montague Rhodes James* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 330.

Chapter 6

Interpreting Diversity: Excommunication Rites in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

Sarah Hamilton

Students of medieval rites are familiar with encountering variations in the surviving records.[1] It is common to find differences in a particular rite as it is recorded in various manuscripts, whether in the text of individual elements, the inclusion or omission of prayers, the order of service, or in terms of the level of detail specified in rubrics.[2] Overtly liturgical collections, such as pontificals, manuals or sacramentaries, often combine different rites, or record them in a different order from other manuscripts of the same type.[3] And rites are often recorded in diverse contexts, being sometimes copied alongside other ones in liturgical codices, and sometimes in more miscellaneous collections with paraliturgical, that is quasi-exegetical, and legal texts.[4] The disparate nature of the liturgical record is a particular feature of the manuscripts known to modern scholars as pontificals.[5] Here rites that can be performed only by a bishop are collected together in a single codex; the earliest examples to survive are from the ninth century but the genre seems to have developed more fully over the course of the late ninth and tenth centuries.[6] Although their contents vary greatly, they commonly include

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1 As is made clear by other chapters in this volume, especially those by Helen Gittos and Matthew Salisbury. I should like to thank Helen Gittos and Henry Parkes and the anonymous reviewer for their helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier draft, although any errors that remain are, of course, my responsibility.

2 For example, see the differences in the *ordo* for confession recorded in two manuscripts made at, and for use by, the community at Fulda some fifty years apart: Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 144–46.

3 See, for example, Henry Parkes' discussion of the Romano-German Pontifical manuscripts in Chapter 4.

4 Christopher A. Jones, 'Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 325–52; Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 73 (1998): 659–702.

5 The term is early modern: Charles du Fresne, Seigneur du Cange, rev. D.P. Carpenterius and others, ed., *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 10 vols. (Niort: L. Favre, 1886), 6:408.

6 For example, *Il Cosiddetto Pontificale di Poitiers: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, cod. 227*, ed. Aldo Martini (Rome: Herder, 1979); *Das Kollektar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Baturich von Regensburg 817–84: Cod. Vindob. Ser. N. 2762*, ed. Franz Unterkircher, SF 8 (Freiburg:

ordines for clerical ordination, the dedication of churches, the blessing of chrism, the administration of penance, holding synods, rites for public penance, and sometimes those for excommunication and confirmation. Alongside these rites which could only be administered by a bishop are often found others such as those for confession, baptism, administering to the dying, as well as other liturgical texts, including those for masses and benedictions, and also tracts of liturgical exegesis and commentary, legal and historical writings.[7]

These variations in what constituted the contents of pontificals raise particular problems for scholars seeking to explain the origins and purpose of these new collections. Two main explanations for the emergence of the pontifical as a distinct codex in the late ninth and tenth centuries have been proposed. Some researchers regard them as essentially didactic products of the growth of episcopal self-consciousness and increasing emphasis upon episcopal authority found in west Frankia in the second half of the ninth century, England during the tenth-century reforms, and mid-tenth-century Germany.[8] Such an approach tends to emphasize

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Universitätsverlag, 1962). For analysis of the early pontificals see Niels Krogh Rasmussen with Marcel Haverals, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genése du livre de l'évêque*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents 49 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998); for a summary of Rasmussen's work see Palazzo, *History*, 195–99. See also the manuscripts listed in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 226–30.

[7] The collections known to modern scholars as pontificals went by a variety of different names in the Middle Ages, pointing to a certain ambiguity, perhaps, in both use and understanding arising from the heterogeneity of their contents; in Old English they were variously described as *halgungboc* (consecration book) and *bletsungboc* (blessing book; that is, benedictional which were often found together with collections of episcopal rites): see Helmut Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 91–141, at 131–33. I am not aware of any study of the medieval Latin terminology for these books although Henry Parkes is currently working on this topic. One eleventh-century churchman clearly envisaged them as bishop's books: Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070–89) referred to an *ordo* 'in our codices of episcopal ordines' (in nostris episcopalis ordinis codicibus) in a letter dated 1070–77: see *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1979), Letter 14, p. 86; I owe this reference to Henry Parkes.

[8] Eric Palazzo, 'La Liturgie de l'occident médiéval autour de l'an mil: Etat de la question', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000): 371–94; also Palazzo, *L'Evêque et son image: L'illustration du pontifical au moyen âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 35–46; and Palazzo, *History*, 195–212; David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 91–95; Cyrille Vogel, 'Le pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle: nature, date et importance du document', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 6 (1963): 27–48; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 235–36.

the importance of top-down reforming impulses and interpret pontificals as part of attempts to promote a unified episcopal liturgy. Henry Parkes has highlighted the problems with this approach to the German evidence in Chapter 4. Others, recognizing the lack of uniformity in the early pontificals, and the importance of local features, have instead argued that they were compiled for pragmatic reasons for use by bishops when touring their dioceses. They view pontificals as a consequence of the ninth-century pastoral reforms which promoted regular diocesan visitations, rather than as a vehicle for reform. For example, Niels Krogh Rasmussen argued in his study of the earliest pontificals that they were practical collections. He thought that the earliest pontificals were compilations of *ordines* recorded in separate *libelli* which had been brought together in a single codex for ease of use.[9] But as Richard Pfaff has pointed out, the lack of a contents list taken together with the variation in content between different codices would have made it difficult for those unfamiliar with a particular manuscript to find their way around it.[10] As Rasmussen himself acknowledged, many second-generation pontificals of the late tenth and eleventh centuries were larger and much more encyclopaedic in their coverage than the earliest ones.[11] He suggested that they may have been intended to serve as library copies; that is, authoritative records of liturgical rites which would then be copied into now-lost *libelli* for actual use. They might also serve as books for teaching and reflection, as is suggested by the inclusion of liturgical tracts in some of the manuscripts attributed to the Romano-German family. He therefore left open the question as to whether all pontificals were pragmatic texts to support the administration of rites or whether they were not sometimes intended to instruct bishops and their officers in how to administer rites, offering an aspirational view of how the rite should be conducted rather than a strict guide to use. Others have suggested that some collections point to a more academic interest in liturgy.[12]

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9 Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge*; see also Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbyteriale: une essai de typologie', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale: 11–17 aprile 1985*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1987), 581–603; and 'Unité et diversité des pontificaux latins aux VIIIe, IXe, et Xe siècles', in *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae subsidia 7 (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976), 393–410. On their relationship to practice see also Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, esp. 104–72.

10 Richard Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and His Book', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 81 (1999): 3–24, esp. 7–12.

11 Rasmussen, 'Unité et diversité', 404–7; *Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge*, 479–83.

12 Jones, 'Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests' and 'Book of the Liturgy'; Henry Parkes, 'Liturgy and Music in Ottonian Mainz 950–1025' (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2012), 231–78, and in particular his observation about Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 701: 'Vienna 701 was therefore far less a book of liturgy than a book for the liturgy, a monumental

This debate about why pontificals were created and how they were used is far from being resolved, in part because of the difficulties of finding investigative methods that can deal with the extent of variation in the evidence of the rites themselves. As Christopher A. Jones has suggested, it is necessary not only to work on books as a whole but also to proceed 'ritual by ritual'.[13] That is, in order to begin to think about why churchmen compiled a pontifical, it is important to think about the reasons why its individual elements were recorded. Investigating where churchmen chose to document a particular rite – that is, in what sorts of book, and at what stage in the book's compilation, and at the differences in how they recorded the rite – allows us to consider why churchmen sought to record this particular rite, and by extension how they thought about, and understood, the records of medieval rites more generally. Asking why a particular rite was written down in that particular book offers the possibility of insight into the wider problem of what early pontificals were for.

Some rites entered the liturgical record much earlier than others. For example, the practices of both baptism and excommunication are recorded in the New Testament, and the writings of early churchmen are peppered with references to each of them.[14] Such attention to the rites, whereby on the one hand Christians entered the community, and on the other were expelled for contravening its rules, is not surprising. What is odd is that whilst rites for baptism are recorded amongst the earliest liturgical books to survive, the earliest excommunication rites do not appear until much later, from c. 900 CE and first appear in collections of canon law; excommunication is not recorded in liturgical books until the early eleventh

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library of knowledge and experience', 254. Ramussen was also aware of this dimension to pontifical manuscripts: Rasmussen, 'Unité et diversité', esp. 403–4.

13 'A fast rule in the study of liturgical manuscripts generally, and of pontificals especially, is that relations between books as wholes cannot be argued merely on the evidence of this or that single component. And yet the working out of such larger relationships has few options but to proceed ritual by ritual': Chrisopher A. Jones, 'The Chrism Mass in Later Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, HBS Subsidia 5 (London: HBS, 2005), 105–42, at 128.

14 Jesus Christ commands his disciples to baptize: Matt. 28:19; He commands them to excommunicate the obdurate after three warnings, first in private, then before witnesses, and finally before the church: Matt. 18:15–17. For the history of baptism see Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), also J.D.C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West: A Study in the Distintegration of the Primitive Rite of Initiation*, Alcuin Club Collections 47 (London: SPCK, 1965); on that of excommunication see Paul Hinschius, *Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Guttentag, 1869–97; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1959), 4:691–864, 5:1–492; K. Hein, *Eucharist and Excommunication: A Study of Early Christian Doctrine and Discipline* (Frankfurt am Main: Herbert Lang, 1973); Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

century. Thus there are detailed accounts of baptismal rites in Western Europe from the early sixth century and a complete *ordo* is preserved in the mid-seventh-century Old Gelasian Sacramentary.[15] By contrast, the earliest record of a service for the imposition of excommunication dates to c. 900 and evidence for concern about the regulation of this procedure only goes back some fifty years before that.[16] For, as Florence Chave-Mahir, Louis Hamilton and Mette Brunn also demonstrate in their chapters, the evidence of liturgical books is only ever part of the story for a particular rite. Letters, tracts, laws and sermons all suggest that both baptism and excommunication were administered long before rites for them were first set down. The relatively late arrival of a service for excommunication in the historic record allows us to think about why churchmen chose to document it. Baptismal *ordines* might be copied unthinkingly from earlier models; the decision to record an excommunication rite is likely to have been a much more conscious one for the churchmen of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Excommunication therefore offers a useful way into exploring the larger question about why pontificals were created and how they were used.

Between Law and Liturgy: The Early History of the Rite

As mentioned above, the earliest dateable text for the imposition of excommunication is in a tenth-century Rheims manuscript. Here, alongside a collection of canon law, is a record of the sentence imposed by the bishops of the province of Rheims (north-eastern France) upon the murderers of Archbishop Fulk, which is very precisely dated to 6 July 900 CE.[17] It sets out the particular formula used on that occasion in terms which are very similar to one found in the collection of church law compiled by the Lotharingian abbot Regino of Prüm a few years later.[18] Writing sometime between 906 and 913 for the archbishops

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15 *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/ Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56): Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Leo C. Mohlberg, RED series maior, fontes 4 (Rome: Herder, 2nd edn. 1968), 32–33, 36, 39, 42–53, 67–68, 72–74; Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals*, 109–15. On the Old Gelasian, which now survives in a mid-eighth-century manuscript, see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 64–70.

16 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Phillips 1765, fols. 95r–v; Isolde Schröder, *Die westfränkischen Synoden von 888 bis 987 und ihre Überlieferung*, MGH Hilfsmittel 3 (Munich: MGH, 1980), 153–57. On the ninth-century background see Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900. Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, MGH, Schriften 38 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2008), 276–86.

17 See n. 16 above.

18 Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, II.416, ed. F.W.H. Wasserschleben, rev. Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche

of Trier and Mainz (Germany), Regino set out how a bishop should investigate the behaviour of both priests and laity within each local church, and provided a portable guide to canon law to support a bishop in his visitation. This includes an account of the process for the excommunication of contumacious sinners and the reconciliation of penitent excommunicants.[19] By following this rite the bishop proclaimed the separation of offenders from the community of the living and the services of the Church in this life, and the probability of their exclusion from the community of the saved in the afterlife. At the same time Regino made provision for the restoration of the truly penitent. Its very severity meant that the rite could only be performed by a bishop.

Regino's account of the rite for the imposition of excommunication has a number of features which are worth noting because he set out a structure which proved extremely popular:

- The rite takes place within the mass, after the reading of the Gospel, and before the consecration of the bread and wine.
- It begins with a formal address by the bishop to the clergy and people in which he names the person to be excommunicated, and outlines the nature of his offence.[20] The bishop explains that due legal process has been followed and the offender has already been warned three times by letter and priest, but has chosen to ignore these calls to 'emendation, satisfaction and penance'.[21] Citing precedents from the New Testament the bishop announces that he therefore cuts the offender off from the body of the Church with the sword of excommunication.
- The bishop then recites a formula to impose the excommunication sentence. Invoking the judgement of God, St Peter and the Petrine authority granted him to bind and to loose in heaven and on earth he

Buchgesellschaft, 2004), 444. On the similarities see Genevieve Steele Edwards, 'Ritual Excommunication in Medieval France and England, 900–1200' (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1997), 23–50.

19 Regino, *Libri duo*, II.412–18, 438–46. Hartmann's edition is slightly abridged and omits the second address and one of the alternative formulae, canons II.414–15; these are available in Wasserschleben's original 1840 edition or in the more problematic, but easily available edition in *PL* 132:361–62 where they are numbered cc. 411–12.

20 '**Allocutio**. Noverit caritas vestra, fratres mei, quod quidam vir nomine N. … (**Address**. Let your affection know, my brothers, that a certain man named so-and-so …)', Regino, *Libri duo*, II. 412, 438. *Note:* For reasons of brevity, the forms 'he', 'him', etc., are used throughout, although the same actions would apply to women offenders.

21 '… misimus ad eum presbyterum nostrum et literas commonitorias semel et iterum atque tertio, invitantes eum canonice ad emendationem et satisfactionem et poenitentiam, corripientes eum paterno affectu', Regino, *Libri duo*, II.412, 438.

excludes the offender 'from the boundaries of mother church in heaven and on earth'.[22]

- All those present should respond three times: 'Amen', or 'Fiat', or 'Let him be anathema'.[23]
- At the conclusion of the sentence twelve priests standing around the bishop with burning lights in their hands throw them to the ground and trample them out with their feet.
- Using the vernacular, the bishop explains the sentence to the people so that they understand that the excommunicant is damned and that anyone who communicates with him in any way will be similarly excommunicated.[24]
- Letters announcing the sentence should be sent to the priests of all the parishes in the diocese to be read out after the Gospel to ensure everyone avoids contact with the excommunicant.
- All the bishops of the province should be notified of the sentence, as should the archbishop.

Regino also includes various alternative texts: one for the bishop's initial address and three other versions of an actual excommunication formula.[25] These variants appear intended to allow the bishop to tailor his service to a particular situation. The first address is for someone who has attacked either church property or churchmen, devastating and plundering the Church, violently overwhelming and killing the poor of Christ and seizing their goods. The second version, however, is for a person who has 'withdrawn through apostasy from observance of the whole Christian religion' and is more appropriate for someone who has ignored the Church's injunctions, such as those on incest in marriage, for example.[26] The formulae similarly allow the minister to adjust the service to the nature of the offence and, perhaps, to the time available; they include one headed 'Another more terrible excommunication' and another 'A brief excommunication'.[27]

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22 '… et a liminibus sanctae matris ecclesiae in coelo et in terra excludimus', Regino, *Libri duo*, II.413, 442.

23 'Et respondeant omnes tertio: *Amen*, aut: *Fiat*, aut: *Anathema sit*', Regino, *Libri duo*, II.413, 442.

24 'Post haec episcopus plebi ipsam excommunicationem communibus verbis debet explanare, ut omnes intelligant, quam terribiliter damnatus sit', Regino, *Libri duo*, II.413, 442.

25 Regino, *Libri duo*, II.414–17, 444; *PL* 138:361–62.

26 'Audistis, dilectissimi, quanta et quam horrenda pravitatis ac iniquitatis opera Ill. a diabolo instigatus perpetrare non timuerit et quomodo per apostasiam a totius christianae religionis cultu profana mente recesserit', Regino, *Libri duo*, II. 414.

27 Regino, *Libri duo*, II.416–17, 444.

Regino envisaged the rite as being successful and leading, in time, to the submission of the sinner to the bishop's authority, because a description of how to conduct a service for the reconciliation of an excommunicant follows immediately.[28] Its main features again proved influential:

- The bishop, surrounded by twelve priests, meets the penitent in front of the doors of the church.
- He establishes whether the offender has already done penance, and if he has not, his willingness to do so.
- The bishop then takes the penitent by the hand and leads him into the church, restoring him to Christian communion and society.
- The bishop enjoins a formal penance on him.
- The bishop notifies the clergy in and outside the diocese of the penitent's reception back into Christian society.

Crucially, however, Regino made no mention of the prayers to be said on this occasion, confining himself to instructions as to how the service should be conducted.

Unlike his usual practice elsewhere in the collection, Regino failed to attribute any of his canons on excommunication to an earlier authority. It seems probable, however, that he drew on contemporary customs in Trier for his account.[29] But it is unlikely that he recorded a purely local custom, for his prescription for the rite fits with what is known of practice elsewhere within the ninth-century Frankish Church from surviving snippets. For example, the place of the service within the mass fits with another account written in the neighbouring province of Rheims a quarter of a century or so earlier: Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (d. 882) instructed his diocesan clergy that although it was the usual practice to read excommunication sentences after the Gospel, they could, if they chose, read them before as some offenders had taken to leaving church before the Gospel in order to avoid public censure.[30] Further confirmation that Regino recorded current practice rather than proscribing a novel one comes from parallels in the

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28 Regino, *Libri duo*, II.418, 446. On this particular rite see Sarah Hamilton, '*Absoluimus uos uice beati petri apostolorum principis*: Episcopal Authority and the Reconciliation of Excommunicants in England and Francia, c. 900–c. 1150', in *Frankland. The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 209–41.

29 As suggested by comparisons with other evidence undertaken by both Paul Fournier, 'L'oeuvre canonique de Réginon de Prüm', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 81 (1920): 5–44, at 11–12; and Wilfried Hartmann, 'Die *Capita incerta* im Sendhandbuch Reginos von Prüm', in *Scientia veritatis. Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Oliver Münsch and Thomas Zotz (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004), 207–26.

30 Ep. 17: *PL* 126:101–4.

phrases and structure between the first formula in his collection and the slightly earlier formula for the murderers of Archbishop Fulk.[31] Combined together, the evidence from the provinces of Rheims and Trier suggests that the broad outline of the excommunication liturgy was already well established by the time it was first recorded at the beginning of the tenth century.

The two scholars who have studied the excommunication liturgy most recently, Roger Reynolds and Genevieve Steele Edwards, both concluded that the formal liturgy set out by Regino underwent relatively little change between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.[32] It quickly entered both the canon law and liturgical traditions. Regino's outline was thus copied by later legal compilers; Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) made a few alterations in his popular canon law collection, the *Decretum*, which served in turn as the source for the selections in Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116) and Gratian (c. 1140).[33] At the same time excommunication entered the liturgical tradition; five out of the ten eleventh-century manuscripts used by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze in their edition of the Romano-German Pontifical incorporated a service seemingly based on Regino's texts.[34] The rite seem to have been much less widely copied in twelfth-century liturgical collections.[35] In the late thirteenth century, however, when

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31 See n. 17 above.

32 Roger E. Reynolds, 'Rites of Separation and Reconciliation in the Early Middle Ages', *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale: 11–17 aprile 1985*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1987), 405–33; Steele Edwards, 'Ritual Excommunication', 51–76. Christian Jaser reaches very similar conclusions in his recent study: *Ecclesia maledicens. Rituelle und zeremonielle Exkommunikationsformen im Mittelalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

33 Burchard, *Decretum*, XI.2–8, *PL* 140:856–61; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, pars XIV, cc. 75–79, *PL* 161:844–48, and now the provisional edition by Martin Brett and Bruce Brasington at http://project.knowledgeforge.net/ivo/decretum.html (last accessed 25 June 2013) (Burchard XI.2–6 i.e. omits rubrics and reconciliation rite); Gratian, *Decretum*, C XI.q.3, cc. 106–8 (Burchard XI.3 (part), XI.7, XI.8 i.e. includes part of rubric for XI.3 and reconciliation rite): Gratian, *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg, Corpus iuris canonici 1 (Leipzig, 1879), digitized and available at Münchener DigitalisierungZentrum Digitiale Bibliothek http://geschichte.digitale-sammlungen.de/decretum-gratiani/online/angebot) (last accessed 25 June 2013).

34 Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, Ms. 451 (c. 1050), Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Cod. D. 5 (s. xi^{2}), Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Cod. B. 4 (1071–73), Vendôme, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 14 (s. xi^{1}); Henry Parkes, *PRG Database: A Tool for Navigating* Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze* at http://database.prg.mus.cam.ac.uk/index.php (last accessed 25 June 2013). The excommunication rites in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53 will be considered below as they depart more substantially from those recorded in Regino and Burchard.

35 *Le pontifical romain au moyen âge*, ed. M. Andrieu, Studi e Testi 86–88, 99, 4 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938–41), 1:9–10, 93. This may be because

William Durandus wished to compose a comprehensive pontifical, he returned to Regino's texts to create his rite for excommunication.[36] Durandus' text was influential, circulating in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, before being printed as the *Pontificale Romanum* in 1485.[37] Consequently Durandus' rite remained current until the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council. Scholars have, however, drawn attention to the varied formulae seemingly composed ad hoc in response to specific situations, such as that for the murderers of Archbishop Fulk, and which are recorded in medieval manuscripts from the tenth century onwards.[38] This chapter seeks to revise the prevailing view that the formal liturgy was essentially rather static.

What follows is a case study of the rites for excommunication recorded in four pontificals copied in one political region, the German Reich in the eleventh century. They represent some of the earliest examples of the rite to survive in liturgical collections. The myth of the Romano-German Pontifical, exposed by Henry Parkes in Chapter 4, means that the German Church in this period has often been viewed as having a relatively homogeneous pontifical tradition.[39] Investigating four examples of rites classified as belonging, in some way, to the group of Romano-German pontificals, allows us to explore the tensions between top-down reforming and bottom-up localizing factors in their production, and also those between law and liturgy, within a rite traditionally viewed as static and unchanging. These four examples have been chosen first for their chronological range; they cover the whole century. Secondly, they each include rites for both the imposition and reconciliation of excommunication, which allows us to compare like with like. Thirdly, a digitized version of each manuscript is freely available so readers are able to consult the manuscript evidence for themselves. The evidence of each manuscript will be reviewed in turn in chronological order.

The Bamberg Pontifical: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53

This pontifical was compiled at the instigation of King Henry II (1002–24) for the see of Bamberg (Franconia, Germany) which he founded in 1007.[40] It

free-form formulae were more widely used and copied at this time: see Steele Edwards, 'Ritual Excommunication', 58n30, 77–110.

36 *Le pontifical romain*, ed. Andrieu, 3:609–15.

37 *Le pontifical romain*, ed. Andrieu, 3:xv, 17–22.

38 Reynolds, 'Rites of Separation and Reconciliation'; Steele Edwards, 'Ritual Excommunication'.

39 See also the critique of this picture for penitential rites in Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 104–72.

40 H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonisch und frühsalischen Reich*, 2 vols., MGH Schriften 30 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), 1:406–7; and his *Bamberger*

is a large and comprehensive collection of rites in 192 folios, measuring some 27.3 × 19.6 cm. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze used it as one of their base texts for the Romano-German Pontifical (*PRG*).[41] The excommunication rites in Bamberg Ms. Lit. 53 amply demonstrate Henry Parkes' interpretation of the *PRG* as a modern editorial construct; numbered 85 to 91 out of the 258 separate rites in the printed edition, here they constitute the final element in a varied and comprehensive collection, running from half way down fol. 191r (l.15) to half way down fol. 192v (l.18); the remainder of this folio is blank.[42] Hartmut Hoffmann suggested that this manuscript is the work of two scribes, near contemporaries of each other; the excommunication rites were copied by hand B who essentially supplemented the work of the main scribe, hand A.[43] Both their place in the manuscript, and the evidence of palaeography, suggest these rites were added as something of an afterthought to the main text.

The first text, rubricated 'the Excommunication of Pope Leo', takes the form of a letter from 'Pope Leo' to the 'archbishops and their suffragans and abbots and congregations of monks living in Francia'.[44] Masquerading as a papal letter, it is in fact a liturgical formula for the excommunication of those who take church property, following the structure for all such formulae in first identifying the offenders and their offences (invading the possessions of St Peter), then invoking God's curses on them, before making provision for him to lift the sentence if the reprobates repent, and concluding with the proclamation of anathema and excommunication.[45] It is distinguished from all of Regino's formulae by its harshness, as is clear from the text of the last of the eleven maledictions, that is, curses:

> And just as the Lord gave to Blessed Peter the Apostle and his successors, whose succession we hold, however unworthy, the power that whatever they bind on earth shall be bound on earth and in heaven, and whatever they loose on earth shall be loosed on earth and in heaven, thus to those [people], if they do not

Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, MGH Schriften 39 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), 145. For a full description of its contents see *OR*, 1: 41–63. A digitized copy is available at the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg Kaiser-Heinrich-Bibliothek, http://bsbsbb.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/~db/0000/sbb00000131/images/index.html (last accessed 25 June 2013).

41 *PRG*, 1:xiii, 3, 8.

42 *PRG*, 1:308–21.

43 Hoffmann, *Buchkunst*, 1:406–7.

44 'Leo episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, dilectissimis, fratribus et filiis archiepiscopis atque suffrageneis eorum, abbatibus et monachorum congregationibus in Francia commanentibus salutem perpetuam', Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53, fol. 191r.

45 Bamberg cathedral is dedicated to St Peter. It is difficult to know whether this is coincidence or reflects the fact that the rite has been tailored for the locality; some versions of the letter mention the attack on the possessions of St Peter, others on the lands of St Martin; see n. 48 below.

> wish to be corrected, we close heaven and we deny the earth for burial and may they be plunged into the lower fire, and may they be consumed for what they did without end.[46]

This threat to bar the gates of heaven is a novel one, and justified by the author's supposed papal authority. The rite itself follows that outlined by Regino; those present should respond to each malediction with 'Amen'; the clergy should stamp out their lights at its conclusion. But this text is especially graphic; it ends: 'as this light is extinguished may their souls be extinguished in the stink of hell'.[47] The vividness of this allusion to the sulphurous smells of the inferno reminds us how rites relied on more than mere words to convey their message.

The Pope Leo formula in Bamberg, Ms. Lit. 53 is the earliest surviving manuscript copy of a text which seemingly circulated more widely across the former Carolingian Empire over the course of the later tenth and eleventh centuries. Its modern editor, Harold Zimmermann, argues it was a forgery originally written for the Abbey of St Martin's in Trier sometime before 947. It is now to be found in some fifteen pontifical collections from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries and four early modern copies of tenth-century monastic charters from Trier (Germany), Fleury (France) and Ripoll (Spain).[48] It is striking that whilst the Pope Leo formula is found in manuscripts and records produced in the Reich, west Frankia, Italy and even Catalonia, it is not recorded in any of the great canon law collections. Although probably composed too late for inclusion by Regino, it was not taken up by either Burchard of Worms or Ivo of Chartres. Instead its insertion into Bamberg, Ms. Lit. 53 testifies to how liturgical records could and did reflect wider contemporary interests, drawing on materials from a variety of sources. At the same time, the recording of a text which seems to have circulated in the context of both other rites and charters, but not canon law, undermines any attempt to postulate a simple shift from canon law to liturgy in the excommunication record.[49] The Bamberg codex

[46] 'Et sicut dominus beato petro apostolo eiusque successoribus cuius uicem tenemus quamuis indigni potestatem dedit ut quodcumque ligarent super terram ligarent esset et incaelis et quodcumque soluerent super terram solutum esset et incaelis ita illis si emendare noluerint caelum claudimus et terram ad sepeliendum negamus et dimergantur in inferno inferiori soluantque quod gesserunt sine fine. Amen.', Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms Lit. 53, fol. 191v.

[47] 'Et sicut lucerna ista extinguitur sic extinguantur animae eorum infetore inferni. Amen.', Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms Lit. 53, fol. 191v.

[48] Harold Zimmermann, ed., *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, 3 vols. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984–89), 1:154–62.

[49] On the problematic nature of trying to categorize materials as one or the other, see Janet L. Nelson, 'Liturgy or Law: Misconceived Alternatives?', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 433–47;

is also unusual in containing only the Pope Leo formula; other pontificals included it alongside other formulae, mostly drawn from Regino's collection. Understanding the wider context in which the Pope Leo formula was recorded is helpful, but it does not, of course, explain why those who requested scribe B add an excommunication rite to Bamberg, Ms. Lit. 53 chose to include this particular text and no others.

One possible explanation for the inclusion of this formula may lie in the insecurity generated by the fact that Bamberg had only been founded recently; its new bishop, Eberhard (1007–40) may have chosen to invoke papal as well as apostolic authority in order to boost his own claims to authority within the newly created and endowed diocese.[50] Another might be to look to the influence of specifically monastic traditions on the compiler, given the text's seeming origins in monastic charter material; the Bamberg pontifical was written by scribes from the monastery of Seeon in southern Bavaria.[51] But perhaps more convincing is the possibility of a direct link between the formula recorded here and the presentation of a royal privilege in favour of Bamberg; there are some very tempting parallels with Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg's description of events at Magdeburg in 979. Writing in the second decade of the eleventh century, Thietmar records how the Emperor Otto II issued a diploma granting the clergy of Magdeburg the privilege of electing their archbishop, and presented them with a book with splendid portraits in gold of himself and his wife, Theophanu; after the Gospel at mass (and thus at the very point where the excommunication sentence was usually proclaimed), the archbishop read the imperial diploma aloud in front of the emperor, and delivered a sermon. He then 'threatened anyone who might dare to infringe this privilege with a terrible excommunication and confirmed this as everyone shouted "Amen, so be it, so be it!"'.[52] The Bamberg excommunication formula is recorded in a similarly

also Adriaan Gaastra, 'Between Liturgy and Canon Law: A Study of Books of Confession and Penance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Italy' (PhD diss, University of Utrecht, 2007).

[50] On the early history of Bamberg, and in particular the need to placate the bishop of Würzburg in whose diocese and on whose lands it was established, see Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Die einzigartig geliebte Stadt – Heinrich II. und Bamberg', in *Kaiser Heinrich II. 1002–1024*, eds., Josef Kirmeier, Bernd Schneidmüller, Stefan Weinfurter and Evamaria Brockhoff (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2002), 30–51.

[51] Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften*, 145.

[52] 'Quod gratia cesaris et in presentia eius archiepiscopus, preparatus ad missam, cum perlecto euvangelio more solito optime predicasset, recitato coram precepto inperali, quo eleccio continebatur ostendit eundemque quicumque temerarius hoc umquam auderet infringere, terribili excommunicatione damnavit, cunctis prosequentibus 'Amen! Fiat! Fiat!' consolidavit': Thietmar, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann, MGH SS rer ger n.s. 9 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), III.1, 96–98; English translation: *Ottonian*

splendid manuscript to that described by Thietmar, and includes a royal portrait, that of the founder of the see, Henry II, at the front.[53] There are further parallels: the bishoprics of both Magdeburg and Bamberg were recent royal-sponsored foundations; the archbishopric of Magdeburg was established by Otto I in 968, the bishopric of Bamberg by Henry II in 1007. It is therefore feasible that the Pope Leo formula might have been recorded for use on a similar occasion in which the presentation of the pontifical to the see in the presence of the ruler was accompanied by the recitation of a suitably grand excommunication formula against all those who threatened the possessions of the new see.

The text for absolution of excommunicants follows on immediately from the Pope Leo formula under the simple rubric 'Absolutio communicatorum (sic)'. The level of detail it includes offers some clues as to why this rite, and therefore perhaps also the Leonine formula, were recorded. In terms almost identical to those found in other manuscripts associated with the Romano-German group:

- The bishop begins by reciting Psalms 37, 50, 53 and 102, followed by the *Our Father* and ten versicles and responses, ending with Psalm 123.[54] These are set out continuously on the page.
- Six different alternative prayers follow, each written for a single penitent, each petitioning the Lord to show mercy and absolve the repentant sinner.[55]

Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merserburg, trans. David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 127. Geoffrey Koziol has highlighted how privileges in tenth-century west Frankia can also be interpreted as 'performative acts': *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 17–62.

53 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53, fol. 2v. Only one of Henry II's diplomata in favour of Bamberg includes a detailed anathema sanction clause: *Heinrici II et Arduini Diplomata*, ed H. Bresslau, H. Bloch, M. Meyer and R. Holtzman, MGH Diplomatum regum et imperatorum germaniae 3 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), 502, ll. 7–12 (no. 390). This is a grant to the monastery of Michaelsberg, Bamberg; it is a late eleventh-century forgery, but probably based on an original grant made at Aachen in May 1018. Furthermore other, genuine grants made by Henry II also include anathema sanction clauses so there is nothing inherently unlikely in this aspect being genuine as well; ibid., no. 111 (Magdeburg), pp. 136–37, no. 265 (Paderborn), pp. 314–16, no. 193 (Tegernsee), pp. 227–28, no. 343 (Paderborn), pp. 437–38.

54 'Primitus dicat episcopus psalmos ...', Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53, fol. 192r; compare the edited version in *PRG*, 91.6, vol. 1:318.

55 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lit. 53, fols. 192r–192v; compare those edited in *PRG*, 91.9, 10, 12, 13, 14, vol. 1: 319–20.

This rite is much shorter than others in the Romano-German group; it omits the prescriptive rubric drawn from Regino usually found at the beginning and end of the rite, which includes the scene-setting rubric at the beginning in which the bishop is instructed to check the offender is contrite, and that at the conclusion in which the bishop notifies the wider community of the lifting of the offender's sentence. The prayer for the absolution of several penitents and the text of the concluding blessings and sprinkling with holy water and incense found in some other manuscripts attributed to the Romano-German group are also left out.[56] The rite has been reduced to the psalm *incipits*, the versicles and responses, and prayer texts.

This manuscript thus contains the texts the officiant required to administer these two related rites, but lacks detailed instructions as to how they should be conducted. The minister would require further guidance, whether transmitted through oral traditions or by consulting other works, in order to conduct the rite successfully. The Leonine excommunication formula hints at a world concerned with the authority awarded the bishop in the text rather than the details of the service itself. Much more unusually, the evidence of Thietmar's account, when combined with that for the early history of the Bamberg bishopric, points to a possible context for its addition, namely the ceremonies which accompanied a royal visit rather than the actual imposition of a sentence of excommunication. The greater specificity of the absolution service could have served either as a practical aide-mémoire or as the basis for further reflection by someone interested in assembling materials for an excommunication liturgy. Read on their own, therefore, these rites can thus be variously interpreted as representing a general academic interest in the excommunication liturgy, the preservation of texts that were important to the cathedral's history, or as a guide to ministry for someone already familiar with these rituals.

The Freising Pontifical: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21587

The Freising Pontifical is also considered a member of the Romano-German group. It contains a more detailed and more legalistic account of excommunication than that provided in the Bamberg codex.[57] Written in the Bavarian diocese of Freising for its bishop sometime in the first half of the eleventh century, the

56 *PRG*, 19.16–18, vol. 1:321.

57 *OR*, 1:241–54; Vogel and Elze did not use this manuscript to compile their edition of the Romano-German Pontifical. A digital copy is accessible at Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00060092/images/, fols. 152r–159v (accessed 25 June 2013). On this manuscript see now E. Klemm, *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der*

excommunication rites are copied in the hand of the main scribe.[58] Their inclusion in the codex was planned from the start; whereas they were added as a second thought at the end of the Bamberg Pontifical, in Munich, Clm 21587 they are found sandwiched between the *ordo* for holding a synod (fols. 146v-152r) and those for the administration of the ordeal and the exorcism of demons (fols. 159v–168v). Those for excommunication are thus copied alongside two other rites which also entered the liturgical repertoire late: ordeal and exorcism also seem to have been more peripheral to the content of pontificals in this period. Whereas exorcism left little trace at all, some elements of the rites for ordeal, like those for excommunication, were recorded in both pontificals and compilations of legal material from the ninth century onwards.[59] That the Freising rite for excommunication follows on from that for holding a synod may suggest an association of ideas on the part of the compiler, for excommunications were often imposed in the context of a provincial synod, as at Rheims in 900 CE.[60]

The rite itself is highly dependent on the one first described by Regino, and subsequently copied by Burchard, but it also has some differences which point perhaps to a different source, and possibly also to a degree of reflection on the part of the scribe. Andrieu argued that the compiler made use of Burchard of Worms' *Decretum* throughout the codex.[61] But, at least in the excommunication rites, the compiler included some telling differences which make it unlikely that Burchard

Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 1:96–97 (no. 71), 2:148 (pls 147–48).

58 *OR*, 1:241–43.

59 On exorcism see F. Chave-Mahir, Chapter 7 in this book. On the pontifical record of rites for ordeal, see especially S. Larratt Keefer, 'Ðonne se cirlisca man ordales weddigeð: The Anglo-Saxon Lay Ordeal', in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 353–67; also in the same volume, J.D. Niles, 'Trial by Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England: What's the Problem with Barley?', 369–82; and on clerical ordeal see S. Larratt Keefer, '*Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus*: The *corsnæd* Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 237–64. In general see Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 2–33.

60 See n.16 above. Other examples of excommunication being promulgated at a synod include: Council of Trier (948), described in Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 948, in *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1905), and Richer's *Histories*, II. 82, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, *Richeri Historiarum Libri IIII*, MGH SS 38 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2000); the Council of St Basle (991), the Council of Pavia (998), Council of Rome (998/99), c. 1, *Die Konzilien Deutchlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001: Teil 2: 962–1001*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl with Carlo Servatius, MGH Concilia 6.2 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007), 439, 565–67, 574; Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. F. Behrends (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), Ep. 79, 138–40.

61 *OR*, 1:245n1.

was his immediate source. For example, he gave the rite for the imposition of excommunication a novel title; following Regino and Burchard, it is usually described as the excommunication of the unfaithful (*infideles*); the Freising pontifical introduces it as the *ordo* for excommunicating the *incorrigibiles*, the uncorrectable or incurable. This switch reflects local traditions; a similar title is also used in the roughly contemporary later recension of the Freising canon law collection – the *Collectio duodecim partium* – known as '1 CDP'.[62] The initial rubric in the Freising Pontifical goes into more detail than either Regino or Burchard about at what point in the mass the rite should be conducted, who should be present, and how the rite should be choreographed.[63] The phrases in italics signify the added details:

- When he is going to excommunicate anyone for certain and manifest crimes the bishop should do so in a *public* mass with the clergy and all the people, *entering in full procession from the sanctuary*, and sing the mass in the usual way up until after the Gospel.
- He should deliver the sentence *standing on the top step of the lectern*, surrounded by priests holding burning lights which they ought to throw down and trample with their feet at the conclusion of the anathema. *Then he should summon the rebel three times that he should return to the bosom of Holy Mother Church*.
- If the offender does not truly wish to change, the bishop should address the congregation. The text here is identical to that found in Regino and Burchard.
- An excommunication formula follows; the text is identical to that which is subsequent to this particular address in both Regino and Burchard's prescriptions for the service.[64] Three alternative formulae follow, as in Regino and Burchard.[65]

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[62] Personal communication from Henry Parkes. On *Collectio duodecim partium* see Jörg Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Collectio Duodecim Partium* (Ebelsbach: Gremer, 1989) who identified 2CDP as the earlier recension of the text, and 1CDP as the later recension, finished around 1039; for a useful summary see Linda Fowler-Magerl, *Clavis Canonum. Selected Canon Law Collections Before 1140. Access with Data Processing*, MGH Hilfsmittel 21 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005), 91–93; and on the relationship with Burchard's *Decretum* see now Greta Austin, 'Freising and Worms in the Early Eleventh Century: Revisiting the Relationship between the *Collectio duodecim partium* and Burchard's *Decretum*', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: kanonistische Abteilung* 124 (2007): 45–108.

[63] Fols. 152r–v.

[64] Regino, *Libri duo*, II.412–13, pp. 438–42; Burchard, *Decretum*, XI.2–3, *PL* 140: 856–58; *PRG*, 85.2–3, vol. 1:308–10.

[65] He uses the same rubrics as Burchard (which are different from those in Regino) for the formulae: 'Prima excommunicatio', fol. 154r = Burchard, XI.3; 'Excommunicatio

- The service concludes with the bishop explaining the meaning and consequence of the sentence to the people in the vernacular; letters should be sent to all the priests of the diocese notifying them of the sentence and requesting that it is read out at Sunday mass. The sentence should also be notified to the bishops and metropolitan.[66]

The address in the Freising pontifical differs from that found in Regino and Burchard's legal collections in only one other substantial way: it makes provision for the minister to refer to multiple excommunicants by including a plural reading above the line; the compiler was anxious to ensure that the minister used the correct words for the situation. When this aspect is combined with the Freising rite's most novel feature, the duplication in both the rubric and the episcopal address of the reference to warning the excommunicant *three times* before imposing the sentence, it suggests a compiler interested in ensuring the rite was administered correctly and in conformance with church law. The Freising rite is thus encyclopaedic in its scope. Like those outlined in both Regino and Burchard, it provides the minister with the text of an alternative episcopal address to the congregation followed by three further excommunication formulae. Overall the language and order suggest that the compiler of this rite was building on a different redaction of the text from that in the law collections by Regino and Burchard which owes rather more to Freising local traditions.

The rite for the reconciliation of excommunication is similarly suggestive of a local tradition which shares many features with that recorded in both the 'Romano-German' tradition and Burchard's redaction of Regino. Thus the rubric is found elsewhere within the Romano-German group, but the prescription to recite the seven penitential psalms and the versicles and responses comes from Burchard. Two of the three prayers are those used by Burchard, although the compiler may have drawn them either from Burchard or an earlier Freising tradition.[67] Regino's instructions are again split, so that the initial rubric

secunda', fol. 156r = Burchard XI.5; 'Excommunicatio tertia', fol. 156v = Burchard XI.6; and 'Excommunicatio quarta', fol. 157r = Burchard XI.7.

[66] Fols. 157v–158r; the rubric, although identical with that in Regino and Burchard, comes here at the end of the service rather than as in Regino and Burchard where it follows on from the text of the first excommunication formula: Regino, *Libri duo*, II.413, 442–44; Burchard, *Decretum*, XI.3, *PL* 140:858.

[67] Fols. 158r–159v. Prayers: *Deus misericors* (Burchard XI.8), *Famulum tuum* (source unknown), *Maiestatem quaesumus* (Buchard XI.8). Unlike other manuscripts in the Romano-German group which incorporated prayers from both the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions, those in the rite in Burchard's *Decretum* have a solid Gelasian pedigree: Hamilton, '*Absoluimus*', 217, 236–41. The extent and nature of the relationship between Burchard's *Decretum* and Freising's *Collectio duodecim partium* is still debated; Müller, *Untersuchungen*; Hartmut Hoffmann and Rudolf Pokorny, *Das Dekret Burchard von Worms. Textstufen-Frühe*

instructs the bishop to receive the penitent, and introduce him to the church, where prayers of absolution are said, whilst the final rubric instructs the bishop to notify his fellow bishops that the sentence has been lifted.

It is clear that the compiler of the Freising rite drew up the rites for both excommunication and reconciliation with an eye to ensuring they were delivered in accordance with church law, but also gave thought to their structure in order to signal their message more clearly. It is the product of reflection on both the law and purpose of these rites, and it is significant that local canon law collections testify to a very similar practice. At the same time, the formal nature of the script, the hierarchy of scripts used to signify titles and rubrics, and the general *mise-en-page* of the rite in the manuscript itself, all point to considerable investment in a large and legible text which would have been easy for a minister to consult. The versicles and responses are set out in two parallel columns, for example, rather than running into each other.[68] Taken together, the content and physical features of the Freising Pontifical's excommunication rite suggest it was recorded by someone interested in promoting the effective delivery of the rite. At the same time it is evidence for the powerful influence of local tradition on a liturgy which did not yet have a long pedigree in liturgical books.

The Cambrai Pontifical: Cologne, Diözesan-und-Dombibliothek, Cod. 141

This pontifical was copied in the mid-eleventh century for the bishop of Cambrai at the monastery of Saint Vaast in Arras, northern France.[69] The excommunication rites come towards the end of the collection, copied between the *ordo* for the blessing of a pilgrim (fols. 177r–179r) and two blessings for meat on Easter Sunday, followed by one for fruits (fols. 183r–184r). This rite was a planned element in the whole corpus; the title, *ordo excommunicationis*, in uncial, is in blue; the rubrics are written in alternate red and blue lines; there are elaborate foliate initials for some of the major texts, coloured in gold, green, blue and red. This decoration accords with that used elsewhere in the book and testifies to the fact that this is a very high status and expensive manuscript.

Whilst similar to that found in other, earlier manuscripts associated with the Romano-German Pontifical group, the rite for the imposition of excommunication is by no means identical to them or to their precedents in

Verbreitung-Vorlagen, MGH Hilfsmittel 12 (Munich: MGH, 1991), 87–107. The evidence of the Freising pontifical needs to be placed against these wider debates about the extent and nature of the exchange between Worms and Freising in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

[68] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21587, fol. 158v.

[69] *OR*, 1:108–14. A digitized version is available at Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis, http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/ (accessed 25 June 2013).

tenth-century law; the differences in the rubric, in particular, suggest that it has not been blindly copied. The *ordo* starts, as specified in Regino, with the bishop delivering the address 'Noverit caritas vestra, fratres' (Let your affection know, brothers) after the Gospel. But it includes the instructions that the bishop should 'climb the pulpit so that he can address the clergy and people'.[70] Note the similarity to the injunction in the Freising pontifical to deliver the sentence from the top step of the lectern. The address which follows is a significantly abbreviated version of that first recorded in Regino, and copied with only minor adjustments into both Burchard and various of the liturgical manuscripts in the Romano-German group. As Table 6.1 indicates, the text in the Cambrai pontifical is more straightforward, and therefore the message is much clearer.

In the Cambrai Pontifical, the bishop informs his brothers that N. has, disregarding his baptismal promise to renounce Satan, attacked the Church, overpowering and killing the poor of Christ, and seizing their goods. The bishop has therefore sent a legate to the offender with warning letters inviting him, according to the canon, to correction and satisfaction and penance. Because he has ignored these warnings he should now be condemned. It concludes: 'we commit him to the judgement of God with all his accomplices and fellow participants and supporters and we excommunicate him'. The Cambrai rite omits the lengthy references to the bishop's authority, to the ways in which the excommunicant has reneged on his baptismal promises, and the citation of different apostolic justifications for excommunication. Whilst many versions refer to the fact that the excommunicant has been warned three times, as set out in canon law, the Cambrai rite carefully does not specify a number. The address is followed by a rubric specifying that the priests should stand around the bishop with lighted candles which they should throw on the ground at the conclusion of the excommunication sentence.[71] In other texts the number of priests is specified as twelve; here the exact number is not prescribed. The result is a more straightforward text, which is more concerned to communicate its message clearly, less legalistic in tone, and more practical to use.

The formula for the imposition of excommunication then follows. Beginning 'Ex auctoritate dei', its text is not to be found in earlier legal collections or in other manuscripts associated with the Romano-German Pontifical group.[72] Such 'Ex auctoritate dei' formula are usually recorded ad hoc rather than as part of an *ordo*; whilst made up of existing phrases, they

[70] '... ascendat super pulpitum et sic alloquatur et clerum et populum', fol. 179r; compare rubric in Regino, *Libri duo*, II. 412, p. 438; Burchard, *Decretum*, XI.2, col. 856; *PRG*, 85.1, vol. 1:308.

[71] Fol. 180r.

[72] Fols. 180r–181r.

vary substantially from each other.[73] Through the authority conferred by God on the minister he separates those named from society and from Holy Mother Church both on earth and in heaven and petitions that they be condemned to perpetual fire along with Dathan and Abiron, Judas and Pilate, Nero and Simon Magus. This formula includes several responses in which those listening affirm and take part in the excommunication. They are asked, 'Do you excommunicate?' and reply, 'We excommunicate.' 'Do you damn? We damn. Do you anathematize? We anathematize.'[74] It provides, in other words, for an occasion in which all those clergy taking part participate in the rite itself. Whilst rites from Regino onwards had allowed some element of response, crying 'Amen' after the maledictions and 'So be it, so be it' (Fiat, fiat), at the conclusion of the sentence, this text is unusual in encouraging those assembled to join in the imposition of the sentence. It is not, however, unique: similar choruses are prescribed in a rite added to an existing manuscript at Worcester around c. 1100.[75] The Cambrai rite ends with instructions, found in other, seemingly earlier texts, in which the bishop explains the consequences of excommunication to the congregation in the vernacular (*communibus uerbis*) so that they all understand how terrible it is to be damned and so that they do not have any contact with the excommunicant.[76] The Cambrai pontifical therefore followed the structure and rubrics of other rites but inserted a different address and a different formula for imposition into the rite itself.

The next rubric reads 'Sequitur absolutio' (Absolution follows).[77] This presumably refers to absolution as accompanying the earlier rite rather than to a one-stop service! The reconciliation rite belongs to the Regino family. Unlike its precedents which were composed for a singular penitent excommunicant, the rite in the Cambrai pontifical is written for several penitents. Again, it also omits any reference to twelve priests, instead referring to the bishop being supported by his clergy. Instead of describing in detail how the bishop should introduce the

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[73] Reynolds, 'Rites of Separation and Reconciliation', 416–17; Steele Edwards, 'Ritual Excommunication', 77–110. I intend to consider these ad hoc formulae in much greater detail in a forthcoming article; the variations in their texts suggest engagement with a lively tradition of excommunication in many sees, whilst the fact that such formulae were often added as one-offs to existing liturgical collections also has more to tell us about how liturgical rites were regarded and recorded than it is possible to consider here.

[74] 'Excommunicatis et vos. R. Excommunicamus. Dampnatis et vos. R. Dampnamus. Anathematizatis et vos. R. Anathematizamus', fol. 181r.

[75] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 146, p. 330; for digital images of this manuscript see Parker Library on the Web, at http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/ (last accessed 5 July 2013)

[76] Regino, *Libri duo*, II.413, 442–44; Burchard XI.3, *PL* 140:858. See also that edited in *PRG* 85.6, vol. 1:311.

[77] Fol. 181r.

Table 6.1 Comparison between the rite for the imposition of excommunication recorded in the Romano-German Pontifical tradition and that in the Cambrai Pontifical

PRG 85.2 (based very much on Regino, *Libri duo*, II.412)	Cambrai Pontifical Cologne, Cod. 141, fols. 179r–180r
Noverit caritas vestra fratres mei quod quidam vir nomine N. diabolo suadente postponens Christianam promissionem quam in baptismo professus est per apostasiam conversus post satanam cui abrenunciavit et omnibus operibus eius vineam Christi id est ecclesiam eius devastare et depraedare non pertimescit pauperes Christi quos pretioso sanguine suo redemit violenter opprimens et interficiens et bona eorum diripiens. Unde quia filius huius nostrae ecclesiae cui Deo auctore praesidemus debuerat esse quia in ea per aquam et spiritum sanctum renatus est inter adoptivos filios Dei adnumeratus quamvis modo filius diaboli sit imitando diabolum solliciti ne per negligentiam pastoralem aliqua de ovibus nobis creditis deperiret pro qua in tremendo iudicio ante principem pastorum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum rationem reddere compellemur iuxta quod ipse	Noverit caritas vestra fratres mei quod quidam vir nomine N. diabolo suadente postponens Christianam pro- (fol. 179v) missionem quam in baptismo professus est per apostasiam conversus post satanam cui abrenunciavit et omnibus operibus eius vineam Christi id est ecclesiam eius devastare et depraedare non pertimescit pauperes Christi quos pretioso sanguine suo redemit violenter opprimens et interficiens et bona eorum diripiens. Unde quia filius nostrae ecclesiae debuerat solliciti ne per negligentiam pastoralem deperiret **unde dominus**
terribiliter nobis comminatur dicens: *Si non adnunciaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram* (Ezech. 3:18) misimus ad eum presbyterum nostram et litteras commonitorias semel et iterum atque tertio invitantes eum canonice ad emendationem et satisfactionem et poenitentiam corripientes eum paterno affectu.	terribiliter nobis comminatur dicens: *Si non adnunciaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram* (Ezech. 3:18) misimus ad eum **legatum** nostram et litteras commonitorias invitantes canonice ad emendationem et satisfactionem et poenitentiam.

PRG 85.2 (based very much on Regino, *Libri duo*, II.412)	Cambrai Pontifical Cologne, Cod. 141, fols. 179r–180r
May your charity know, my brothers, that a certain man named N., having been persuaded by the devil, neglecting the Christian promise which he professed at baptism, turned back through apostasy to Satan, whom he had renounced with all his works, has not been afraid to devastate and pillage the vineyard of Christ, that is his Church, violently overwhelming and killing the poor of Christ whom he redeemed through his precious blood, and plundering their goods.	May your charity know, my brothers, that a certain man named N., having been persuaded by the devil, neglecting the Christian promise which he professed at baptism, turned back through apostasy to Satan, whom he had renounced with all his works, has not been afraid to devastate and pillage the vineyard of Christ, that is his Church, violently overwhelming and killing the poor of Christ whom he redeemed through his precious blood, and plundering their goods.
Whence, because he ought to be the son of this our Church which we preside over by the authority of God because he was reborn in it through water and holy spirit and numbered amongst the adopted sons of God although like a son of the devil he imitates the devil, careful lest through pastoral negligence any of the sheep entrusted to us be lost, for whom in the last judgement before the first prince of shepherds our Lord Jesus Christ we will be compelled to give account,	Whence, because he ought to be the son of this our Church, careful lest through pastoral negligence,
just as he himself threatened us most terribly, saying 'If you will not make known his sin to the sinner, I will require his blood from your hand' (Ezech. 3:18); we sent to him our priest and warning letters once and again and a third time, inviting him according to the canon to emendation, and satisfaction and penance, rebuking him with paternal affection.	**just as the Lord** threatened us most terribly saying 'If you will not make known his sin to the sinner, I will require his blood from your hand' (Ezech. 3:18), we sent to him our **legate** and warning letters inviting him according to the canon to emendation, and satisfaction and penance.

Sed ipse proh dolor diabolo cor eius indurante monita salutaria sprevit et incoepata malitia perseverans ecclesiae Dei quam laesit superbiae spiritu inflatus satisfacere dedignatur. De talibus itaque transgressoribus et sanctae religionis pacisque quam Christus suis discipulis dedit atque reliquit, violatoribus praecepta dominica et apostolica habemus quibus informamur quid de huiuscemodi praevaricatoribus agere non oporteat. Ait enim Dominus in evangelio *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus corripe eum* (Matt. 18:15). Fratres in unoquoque nostrum peccat quia in sanctam ecclesiam peccat. Si enim sancta ecclesia unum corpus est cuius corporis caput Christus est, singuli autem sumus alter alterius membra et cum patitur unum membrum compatiuntur omnia membra procul dubio in non peccat qui membra nostra laedit. Iubet ergo Dominus ut frater id est Christianus in nos peccans primo secrete corripiatur deinde cum testibus redarguatur novissime in conventu ecclesiae publice conveniatur. Quod si has tres admonitiones et pias correptiones contemnit et satisfacere despicit post haec *sit tibi*, inquit, *sicut ethnicus* (Matt. 18:17), id est gentilis atque paganus ut non iam pro Christiano sed pro pagano habeatur; et in alio loco membrum quod a sua compage resolvitur et a iunctura caritatis dissociatur et omne corpus scandalizat, Dominus abscindi et proici iubet, dicens Si oculus vel manus vel pes tuus

Sed pro dolor sprevit aecc-(fol. 180r)lesiae Dei satisfacere dedignatur.

Nunc autem quia has commonitiones et crebras uocationes contempnit. *Sit nobis* sicut dominus praecepit *sicut ethnicus et puplicanus* (Matt. 18:17). Hinc ergo eum cum universis complicibus et communicatoribus fautoribusque suis iudicio dei comittemus et eum excommunicamus.

But he, oh sorrow, his heart hardened by the devil, scorned salutary admonishments and persevering in the evil begun against the church of God, whom he had injured, inflated with the spirit of pride, refused to make satisfaction.

We have the precepts of the Lord and the apostles about such great transgressors of holy religion and peace which Christ gave or left to his disciples about violators, which inform us what it is proper for us to do about these kinds of transgressor. For as the Lord said in the gospel: 'If your brother sins against you, rebuke him' (Matt. 18:15) That brother sins against everyone of us because he sins against holy Church. For if the holy Church is one body, the head of which is Christ, and we are each members of that body, one of another, and what is suffered by one member (of the body) is suffered by all members, it is beyond doubt that he who sins against wounds (all) our members. (Christ) orders therefore that he is secretly reproved, then refuted before witnesses, and lastly brought publicly into the assembly of the Church. But if he disregards these three warnings and pious reproofs and despises to make satisfaction, after this 'let him be to you as a heathen', that is as a gentile or pagan, so that he is not held to be a Christian but a pagan. And in another place the Lord orders the member which has been separated from its joint and become disassociated from the structure of charity and scandalises the

But, oh sorrow, he scorned the church of God and refused to make satisfaction.

For now because he has shown contempt for these warnings and repeated callings, 'Let him be to us', as the Lord instructs, 'as a heathen and a publican' (Matt. 18:17). Hence therefore we commit him with all his accomplices and fellow participants and protectors to the judgement of God and we excommunicate him.

scandalizat te erue eum et proice abs te (Matt. 8–9). Et apostolus: Auferte, inquit, malum ex vobis (1. Cor. 5:13). Et item: Infidelis si discedit, discedat (1. Cor. 7:15). Et in alio loco rapaces a regno Dei excludit, dicens; Neque rapaces regnum Dei possidebunt (1. Cor. 6:10). Et alibi: Si quis frater nominatur et est fornicator aut adulter aut homicida aut rapax cum huiusmodi nec cibum sumere licet (1. Cor. 5:11). Et Iohannes dilectus prae ceteris Christi discipulus talem nefarium hominem salutare prohibebat dicens: Nec ei ave dixeris neque eum in domum receperis. Qui enim ei ave dicit communicat operibus eius malignis (2. Ioh. 10–11). Dominica itaque atque apostolica praecepta adimplementes membrum putridum et insanabile quod medicinam non recipit ferro excommunicationis a corpore ecclesiae abscidamus ne tam pestifero morbo reliqua membra corporis veluti veneno inficiantur.

Key: bold represents text new to the Cologne manuscript not found in the *PRG* edition or earlier versions of this text. Underline indicates text omitted from that in the *PRG* edition in the Cologne manuscript. *Italics* indicate biblical quotes.

whole body to be cut off and thrust out saying 'If your eye, hand or foot scandalises you, cut it off and thrust it from you' (Matt. 18:8–9). And the Apostle said: 'Put away the evil person from among yourselves' (1 Cor. 5: 13). And also: 'If the unbeliever departs, let him depart' (1 Cor. 7:15). And in another place he excludes the grasping from the kingdom of God saying 'Nor will the rapacious possess the kingdom of God' (1 Cor. 6:10). And elsewhere: 'If any man that is called a brother is a fornicator or adulterer or murderer or thief, let no one eat dinner with such a person' (1 Cor. 5:11). And John the disciple beloved by Christ before others forbade greeting such an evil man saying: 'Neither say Ave nor receive him in the home. For whoever says Ave to him shares his evil works' (2 John 10–11). And so fulfilling the precepts of the Lord and the apostles we cut off with the sword of excommunication from the body of the Church this putrid and unhealthy member which will not receive medicine lest by such a destructive illness the remaining members of the body will be infected as if by poison.

penitent into the church and thus return him to Christian society, the bishop is instructed 'he should absolve them in this way'.[78] After an antiphon and the seven penitential psalms, various *preces*, that is versicles and responses, follow in a sequence which is almost identical (apart from one of the *preces*) to that used in the Metz pontifical. Three prayers petitioning the Lord to absolve the penitent follow, all of which are found in other manuscripts in the Romano-German tradition.[79] A simple prayer rubricated 'Absolutio' then follows: 'May the almighty and merciful Lord grant forgiveness and absolution and remission of all your sins and a period of penance and correction of your life'.[80]

The rite ends with a rubric instructing the bishop to introduce the penitents into the church and return them to communion and Christian society, and to enjoin penance on them. This particular text is found in earlier descriptions of the rite, where it is placed before the prayers of absolution; here it signifies the end of the rite; its placing is both practical and logical. Unlike the descriptions given in other accounts there is no mention of the need to publicize the reconciliation to other dioceses.

What are we to make of this seemingly more streamlined version of the rite? One possibility is that the compiler edited a rite similar to that cited in Regino, removing the references to legal niceties and the need for an elaborately manned ritual in order to produce a clearer one. The tenor is certainly very different from the legal concerns of that in the Freising Pontifical. But the evidence of canon law, for example, suggests that it was much more usual for compilers to expand upon existing texts, bringing in extra material, rather than excising extraneous material.[81] It is therefore more likely that the rite recorded in the Cambrai Pontifical reflects a local tradition related to, but independent of, that in Regino, and that both the Cambrai rite and Regino's texts have their roots in earlier ninth-century practice. Other rites within this pontifical can also be linked to localized, regional traditions which reinforce the likelihood of this possibility.[82]

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78 'Absoluat eos hoc modo'. Compare the rubric on fol. 181r with that in Regino, *Libri duo*, II.418, 446; Burchard XI.8, *PL* 140:860–61, and *PRG* 91.1 and 91.3, vol. 1:317–18.

79 *PRG* 91.10, 9, 8, vol. 1:319–20.

80 'Veniam et absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum et spatium penitentiae et emendationem vitae tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors domnus', fol. 183r.

81 See for example the examples considered by A.H. Gaastra, 'Penance and the Law: The Penitential Canons of the Collection in Nine Books', *Early Medieval Europe* 14 (2006): 85–102.

82 Rites for penance: Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, 154–55, 160–61, and Appendix 2, Table 4. Coronation rite: *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard A. Jackson, 2 vols (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995–2000), 1:201–16.

The visual splendour of this manuscript testifies to the importance awarded to both the pontifical liturgy itself, and local liturgical traditions, in mid-eleventh-century Cambrai; the codex is a physical manifestation of the claims of Cambrai's bishop to authority. The contemporary *Deeds of the Bishops of Cambrai* testifies to how vulnerable this was at times.[83] The inclusion of an excommunication rite within such a statement is not surprising, for the rite itself articulated the bishop's claims to spiritual oversight and authority over his flock; he alone could exclude people from Christian society and the prospect of salvation in the afterlife. Its presence here tells us as much about episcopal ambitions as about the practice of excommunication within Cambrai.[84]

The Metz Pontifical: Paris, BN, Ms. latin 13313

Our final example is from late eleventh-century Metz (France).[85] This pontifical was probably originally written for Metz in the first quarter of the eleventh century and a supplement was added there in the second half of the eleventh century; various further texts were then added in Lotharingian hands in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. The texts of an excommunication formula, together with penitential psalms and *preces* followed by four prayers for the reconciliation of excommunicants are amongst these late eleventh/twelfth-century additions. They were written in two different hands on the blank folios at the end of a quire in the middle of the manuscript as follows:

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[83] *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. L.C. Bethmann, MGH SS 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 393–504. The pontifical could have been made for Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras (1012–51) or his nephew and successor Bishop Lietbert (1051–76). Both have been the subject of a great deal of scholarly attention; see especially most recently Laurent Jégou, 'L'évêque entre authorité sacrée et exercice du pouvoir. L'exemple de Gérard de Cambrai (1012–1051)', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 47 (2004): 37–55; Theo M. Riches, 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai-Arras, the Three Orders and the Problem of Human Weakness', in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 122–36; John S. Ott, '"Both Mary and Martha": Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai and the Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese around 1100', in *The Bishop Reformed*, 137–60.

[84] It is perhaps worth noting here that Riches, in 'Bishop Gerard I of Cambrai', highlights the interest in excommunication within Gerard's circle.

[85] A digitized version is available at 'Pontifical de Trèves', Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90669992.r=lat+13313.langEN (last accessed 25 June 2013). The pontifical has an early modern Metz provenance and it seems likely that it was used there throughout the Middle Ages: Hoffmann, *Buchkunst*, 1:254–55. For a detailed description of its contents see Leroquais, *Pontificaux* 2:175–79.

- Excommunication formula (hand 1): fols. 102v, l. 6 to 103r, l. 13
- Antiphon, Psalms, 6, 31, 37, 101, 129, 142, *Our Father*, versicles and responses and three reconciliation prayers (hand 1): fols. 103r, l. 15 to 104r, l. 5
- Reconciliation prayer added in second hand (hand 2): fols. 104r, l. 6 to 104v, l. 14.

There is no mention in either the original collection, or the later supplement, of rites for excommunication; the readers of this codex only later felt the need to add the texts for them to this diverse collection of rites pertaining to the bishop.

There is no title for either the excommunication formula or the reconciliation prayers in the manuscript. The scribe left sufficient space for rubrication, but this was never completed; there are thus three blank lines between the end of the previous text and the start of the excommunication formula on fol. 102v; similarly there is a single blank line between the end of the formula for the imposition of excommunication and the start of the psalms and *preces* sequence which precedes the reconciliation of excommunication on fol. 103r at l. 14. As there is no list of contents either, it is clear that only someone very familiar with both this codex and the liturgy for excommunication would be able to identify these as the texts they needed to perform these rites; clearly experience or instruction would be needed in order to administer this rite using this book, as well as, perhaps, the consultation of other manuscripts.[86]

The text for the imposition of excommunication is identical to one of the formulae recorded in Regino of Prüm's *Libri duo* over a century and a half earlier; it is also to be found in Burchard of Worms' *Decretum*, and in various eleventh-century manuscripts classified by Andrieu as belonging to the Romano-German Pontifical group.[87] Regino classified it as 'Another, more terrible excommunication'.[88] However, the final sentence in the Metz version reads rather oddly: 'And just as these lights from our hands are extinguished today, so may the light of them be extinguished in eternity'.[89]

Other versions included the word *proiectae*, thrown down, after 'from our hands'; although by no means essential to the understanding of this sentence, the word acts as an important instruction to the clergy in the performance of the text. The failure to correct its omission here suggests either that this particular rite was not much read, or that those following it already knew what to do. The rite for the reconciliation of excommunicants similarly omits any rubrics

[86] Indeed, its most recent cataloguer misidentified the initial absolution prayers as those for the reconciliation of penitents: Leroquais, *Pontificaux*, 2:176.

[87] *PRG* 88, vol. 1:313–14; Burchard, *Decretum*, XI.6, *PL* 140:859–60.

[88] Regino, *Libri duo*, II.416, 444.

[89] 'Et sicut hae lucernae de manibus nostris hodie extinguuntur, sic eorum lucerna in aeternum extinguatur', fol. 103r.

(and no room was left for them to be added later); it sets out the prayers and antiphons required for a service almost identical to that prescribed in Burchard's *Decretum*, XI.8. The order of service is thus:

- Antiphon: *Create a clean heart in me O God* (Psalm 50:12)
- Seven Penitential Psalms (6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142)
- *Pater noster*, and various versicles and responses, which are identical to those given in Burchard XI.8
- Prayers petitioning the Lord to absolve the sinner. The first three can be found in Burchard's early eleventh-century version of the rite.[90] A fourth was added in a second later hand: *Deus inmensae clementiae et inaestimabilis indulgentiae qui humane fragilitatis lapsum*. This prayer is not found in Burchard but was recorded in several manuscripts of the Romano-German Pontifical group.[91] The orator begs the God of immeasurable mercy and invaluable leniency to forgive the sinner and through the cure of His grace, restore him corrected and absolved to health.

The rite, in other words, seems designed to be used by someone who only requires the texts of the prayers; they can go elsewhere for instructions on how to conduct the service. It may perhaps have been intended to serve as an aide-mémoire to what was a well-known service or at least one for which guidance on how it should be delivered could be sought elsewhere, perhaps even in Burchard's *Decretum*. It is, however, also possible that these jottings reflect a more academic interest of someone seeking to complete the lacunae in the current collection.

Conclusions

This case study is limited to only four different excommunication rites recorded in pontificals from only one kingdom in one century, that is the eleventh-century German *Reich*; and yet it shows there are considerable differences. Although the sample is small, it suggests a pattern which is worth investigating further. In two instances, the early eleventh-century Bamberg and late eleventh-century Metz pontifical, these rites have been added to the manuscript at a later stage; in both these cases the rites consist of just the texts the bishop needs to conduct the rite without any instructions as to how to do so, or, in the case of Metz, even any titles to identify their purpose. Where rites

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[90] XI.8, *PL* 140:861; on its Gelasian origins, see Hamilton, '*Absoluimus*', 217, 237–38.

[91] *PRG* 91, vol. 1:319. For example, the Bamberg Pontifical; Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, Ms. 451; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Cod. D. 5; Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Cod. B.4.

were included as a planned element of the whole codex, as in the Freising and Cambrai pontificals, they included a detailed rubric on how they should be conducted. This link between prestigious cathedral copies and more detailed prescriptive texts must be viewed in the light of Carol Symes' arguments for modern scholars taking the proscriptive nature of liturgical texts more seriously: such texts represent clear attempts to regulate rather than describe practice.[92] But attempting to impose a simple dichotomy on the manuscript evidence of didactic texts on the one hand, and pragmatic texts which support ministers who know what they are doing on the other, is more problematic.

While the shared features in the liturgies of the sample of manuscripts studied here hint at a common origin in the ninth-century Frankish practice which predated the earliest surviving account of it by Regino in the early tenth century, whether there was ever a single *Urtext* is much more doubtful. This microstudy demonstrates the varying levels of diversity which characterize the records of liturgical rites more generally, and at the same time highlights some challenges that the study of such texts poses for scholars. For historians interested in excommunication, it is clear that the simple narrative of a broadly static excommunication liturgy postulated by an earlier generation of scholars cannot be sustained. This case study also points to problems with the recent, revisionist accounts postulated by scholars for the pontifical's emergence as a genre. It is difficult to view such texts as the simple product of either reformist or pragmatic tendencies; both played a role, but so did local traditions and what is best described as a more academic interest in recording rites.

These manuscripts show that liturgists played with these rites, editing texts and composing them anew. They thought about both the words and the enactment of the rite. The variations outlined above therefore suggest a lively and ongoing interest in the practice of excommunication. Explaining the reasons for such variations is much less straightforward; each manuscript provides clues as to why that particular rite was copied but taken as a whole the evidence points in five different directions. First, the inclusion of rites without instructional rubrics, such as those for excommunication in the Metz and Bamberg pontificals, might reflect a simple, pragmatic addition for use in a particular service. But not all unrubricated texts fit easily into this category. The inclusion of a number of alternative prayers in the reconciliation service in these two manuscripts points to a second possible reason for their being set down: academic interest. These particular examples might represent the scholarly focus of an individual cleric, a completist anxious to ensure that his church had access to the full episcopal liturgy in one codex. Other examples suggest a

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92 Carol Symes, 'Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices', Ch. 10 below; also her 'The Medieval Archive and the History of Theatre: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance', *Theatre Survey* 52.1 (2011): 29–58.

third category: careful reading of individual excommunication rites alongside consideration of their place within the codex indicates a concern with bolstering and articulating episcopal authority, as in the Cambrai and perhaps also the Bamberg Pontificals. The Freising example, however, suggests a fourth reason, a reformist concern with ensuring due legal process. Differences between rites also points to the importance of local traditions, as at Cambrai. Comparison with records in canon law can help to explain how particular variations are indebted to the influence of local, diocesan traditions, as is particularly evident at Freising.

As the Freising Pontifical makes clear, looking beyond liturgical books for evidence can also help us to interpret the more overtly liturgical records that survive. Investigating where and how the rite of excommunication was recorded has revealed that excommunication was caught somewhere between canon law and liturgy. Although prescriptions as to how it should be conducted are first recorded in legal or quasi-legal collections from the early tenth century, it only begins to be written down in liturgical books from the early eleventh century onwards. This pattern is not dissimilar to that for penance, for example, where *ordines* for hearing confession were first attached to penitentials in the ninth century, before migrating into liturgical collections in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[93] But the pattern for penance is confused by the fact that some formulae for the older Late Antique rite of public penance, rather than confession, do appear in the earliest liturgical collections from the eighth century.[94] The chronology for excommunication is much clearer: the earliest surviving evidence for a formal rite is almost coterminous with the earliest pontifical collections. But unlike other episcopal rites, such as those for the dedication of churches and the ordination of clergy, excommunication did not get recorded in the early pontificals. And even after it did so, it seems not to have been a standard component of pontifical collections from the central middle ages; many from the eleventh and twelfth century do not include any excommunication rites.[95] It seems instead to belong with the more marginal rites such as those for ordeal or exorcism. And yet, it is clear from the way in which some east Frankish compilers incorporated the rite for excommunication into their liturgical collections over the course of the eleventh century that it was something which they often felt needed to be there, adding it later where necessary, as at Bamberg and Metz. Recording the rite tended to be the result of active choice; it had not become an 'expected' part of the pontifical repertoire, but was peripheral, entered as a response to particular situations or interests. Pontificals in this period were not, as Henry Parkes has demonstrated in Chapter 4, the static or rigid compilations

93 Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*.

94 *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Mohlberg, 17–18, 56–58.

95 Further research is required to establish how far excommunication became a more common feature of later medieval pontificals.

suggested by modern editions. And it is clear that by 1100 excommunication was not yet part of the liturgical canon.

It is perhaps easier to ask the question why excommunication was considered peripheral than to answer it. Does this mean that for some compilers it really belonged in the courtroom, and thus inside legal books? Franz Kerff has somewhat controversially argued on the basis of similar legal evidence that penance was a judicial rather than pastoral rite, suited to the episcopal court rather than the priest's ministry; might this be the case with excommunication?[96] But just as Kerff's arguments have been overturned both on the basis of the pastoral content of the texts of the penitential *ordines*, and because of their presence in priests' books, so the fact that eleventh-century compilers usually added excommunication rites to liturgical rather than other sorts of books suggests that at least some people regarded it as a liturgical rite.[97] The compilers of these books thought that it best belonged with other rites in a liturgical collection to which the cantor could make reference as necessary when preparing the bishop to conduct what, after all, must have been a formidable and frightening service for those who witnessed it.[98] Identifying patterns like this suggests that churchmen had very clear ideas about the purpose and scope of pontificals; more work on their contents, both those regarded as core as well those viewed as more marginal, will help to reveal more exactly what these were. It is, however, already clear that any attempt to come up with a single explanatory model for the emergence of pontificals is doomed to failure. As the rites for excommunication studied here testify, they were recorded for various ends, and this diversity in intention should be incorporated into future research on pontificals.

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96 F. Kerff, '*Libri paenitentiales* und kirchliche Strafgerichtsbarkeit bis zum Decretum Gratiani: ein Diskussionsverschlag', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: kanonistische Abteilung* 75 (1989): 23–57.

97 On Kerff see Raymund Kottje, 'Busspraxis und Bussritus', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale, 11–17 aprile 1985*, Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 33 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1987), 369–65; Rob Meens, 'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance', in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1998), 35–62. My research into ad hoc excommunication formulae suggests that these were more usually added to liturgical collections in this period; see n. 73 above.

98 On the cantor's role more generally see Margot Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. R.A. Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 149–71.

Chapter 7

Medieval Exorcism: Liturgical and Hagiographical Sources

Florence Chave-Mahir

The saints occupied an important place in medieval liturgy.[1] Their names were spoken many times in both prayers and litanies and they served as models for edification. This relationship is reflected back in saints' lives where they were sometimes depicted as clerics who were masters of liturgical rites. Saints were presented as examples of perfection to inspire the clergy, no more so than in the way that through their lives they continued Christ's own fight against the forces of evil. *Vitae* also presented exemplary models for how rituals could or should be performed. Hagiographic sources may therefore help to illuminate our understanding of liturgical practices, especially less well-documented ones, such as exorcism.[2]

Exorcism is not very visible in liturgical sources from the central Middle Ages. The ritual of exorcism was, however, practised much earlier than that. The minor orders of the Latin Church included the role of exorcist; the exorcist's role was to perform rites considered to be effective in rescuing a possessed person from evil spirits. The person could be either a man or a woman, young or old; they were considered as being possessed by a demon if they displayed forms of unusual behaviour, which are usually described in saints' lives as consisting of fits, shouting incomprehensible words in an unknown language, or committing acts of extreme violence. Liturgical sources which mention exorcisms of the possessed are quite rare before the later Middle Ages; the earliest book dedicated solely to the ritual of exorcism dates to the fifteenth century.[3] In this chapter I will consider what evidence there is for how exorcisms were conducted in the

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1 I want to thank Alwyn Harrison for his translation of my text and Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton for their help and advice with writing it.

2 On the use of the liturgy by historians, see: Pierre-Marie Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris: Cerf, 1990); Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda: Etude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne,* Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 77 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994) and *L'Evêque et son image: L'illustration du pontifical au moyen âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

3 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10085; I am preparing an edition of this manuscript with Julien Véronèse: *Rituel d'exorcisme ou manuel de magie? Le manuscrit Clm 10085 de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, forthcoming).

Middle Ages, whether there were standard ways of conducting them, and, if so, whether they were actually followed in practice.

The practice of exorcism was clearly known in the early Middle Ages. Long reserved for the preparation of candidates for baptism, rites for exorcisms in baptismal contexts are first recorded in the Carolingian sacramentaries of the eighth century. All those who were to be baptised needed to be exorcised as they were thought to have been seized by the devil. In some tenth- and eleventh-century pontificals, the purification of catechumens by exorcism was separated from the baptismal liturgy.[4] However, there are few such liturgical sources concerning the treatment of the possessed and those that do survive are little concerned with describing the way in which the ritual should be conducted. What evidence does survive in liturgical books tends to consist of exorcism formulae rather than full *ordines* explaining how the clergy should lead the fight against the devil in this regard.

There are, though, several saints' lives from the central Middle Ages that record in some detail the staging of the conflicts against the devil present in the bodies of the possessed. Some of these texts emphasize accounts of the healing of the possessed and make such events into a significant moment of religious edification; these exorcisms become the grand finale of the story of the saint's life. This particular feature is intellectually and textually indebted to influential *vitae* from the early medieval period.[5] One such saint is St Norbert of Xanten (fl. 1080–1134), the influential clerical reformer and founder of the Premonstratensian order of regular canons, for whom two twelfth-century accounts of his life survive, the earlier *Vita A*, and the slightly later and much longer *Vita B*.[6] The earlier life focuses on its subject's virtues, whilst the later

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4 See Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism: From the New Testament to the Council of Trent* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

5 The initial studies on exorcism using the hagiographic sources were undertaken by Peter Brown in his *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). See also: Dominique Barthélemy, 'La guérison des possédés dans les miracles de saint Benoît', in *Abbon, un abbé de l'an mil*, ed. Annie Dufour and Gillette Labory (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 343–67; and 'Devils in the Sanctuary: Violence in the Miracles of Saint Benedict', in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, ed. Belle S. Tuten and Tracey L. Billado (London: Ashgate, 2010), 71–94. I discuss the shortcomings of the liturgical sources compared with the riches of certain hagiographical texts in Florence Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme des possédés dans l'église d'occident (Xe–XIVe siècle)*, Bibliothéque d'histoire culturelle du moyen âge 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 134–62.

6 See pp. 162–63 below for detailed consideration of the authorship and date of the lives and their relationship to one another.

life seeks to situate Norbert's life within the history of the order; both describe his involvement in healing several cases of possession in some detail. In this chapter I shall use the lives of Norbert as a case study, exploring how exorcisms are portrayed in these texts, and compare these descriptions with the scarce liturgical evidence from the same period. The accounts of exorcisms in the lives of Norbert are very detailed and full of references to liturgical texts. Given how little evidence actually survives in liturgical books of the period, it is especially worth investigating whether these hagiographical accounts can tell us anything about how exorcisms were performed in the central Middle Ages. There are two main questions to be considered. To what extent are these hagiographical tales mere echoes of the miracles performed by Christ and thus of *topoi* that had circulated in such writings from Late Antiquity onwards? Or do they provide evidence for how exorcisms were actually conducted in the twelfth century?[7]

The Sources

Liturgical Sources

In terms of the liturgical sources from Western Europe, examples of exorcistic formulae survive in various Carolingian manuscripts; these are derived, as I have mentioned above, from the rites for catechumens. These formulae were then incorporated into the Romano-German Pontifical (henceforth *PRG*) tradition.[8] Manuscripts in the *PRG* tradition, in turn, influenced liturgical sources produced in the same region of Germany, and around the same time, as the lives of Norbert.

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7 The complementarity of liturgy and hagiography is found in other studies. See, for example: Patrick Henriet, *La parole et la prière au moyen âge* (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 2000); Louis I. Hamilton, 'Les dangers du rituel dans l'Italie du XIe siècle entre textes liturgiques et témoignages historiques', in *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'Eglise dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Didier Méhu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 159–88; and his contribution to the present volume, 'Rites for Dedicating Churches', Chapter 8. See also the recent studies on norms in the hagiographic sources, and in particular the colloquium M.-C. Isaïa and T. Granier, ed. *Normes et hagiographie dans l'occident latin (Ve–XVIe siècles), Lyon 4–6 octobre 2010* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), and the account given by Marie-Céline Isaïa in M.-C. Isaïa and T. Granier, ed. *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 15 (2011): 229–36.

8 On this subject, see: Henry Parkes, 'Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze's Pontifical Romano-Germanique', Chapter 4 of this book; and Sarah Hamilton's analysis of the study of excommunication in Chapter 6.

Three twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts containing material pertaining to exorcism survive from Germany.[9] The first is a twelfth-century ritual and penitential produced in the Rhine Valley for Cologne Cathedral (now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. latin 14833). It consists of a penitential, followed by a ritual – a priest's book – which includes ten or so folios of exorcism formulae.[10] This collection is quantitatively important and it contains many exorcism prayers which are also found in earlier manuscripts associated with the *PRG* tradition. A twelfth-century ritual from Prüm (now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 100) includes a section of six folios dedicated to the exorcism of the possessed.[11] Finally, there is also a manuscript best described as a twelfth-century penitential-ritual (now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3909). The exorcism formulae for the possessed appear at the very end of this codex, and seem to have been copied from Carolingian sacramentaries via manuscripts in the *PRG* tradition.[12] These manuscripts contain only texts for use in exorcism rituals, not full *ordines* detailing how they were to be conducted.

For evidence as to how these formulae might have been used, we will now turn to the cases of possession described in the life of St Norbert of Xanten, in order to consider how far St Norbert (or rather his biographers) drew directly upon contemporary liturgical tradition in portraying his performance of exorcism. Can such narratives help provide evidence for how exorcism rituals were conducted at that time?

The Tales of Exorcisms in the Vitae *of St Norbert of Xanten: Presentation and Context*

As mentioned above, two different accounts now survive of the *vita* of St Norbert of Xanten, who died in 1134. Both were written soon after his death. The earliest, known as *Vita A*, was written at Magdeburg in Saxony (Germany) by a certain Evermode between 1145 and 1164; the second, called *Vita B*, was produced at Prémontré in Picardy (France) by Hugh de Fosses sometime

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9 As noted by Sarah Hamilton (Chapter 6), the liturgy of excommunication is similar to that of exorcism in the sense that both appear to be 'peripheral' preoccupations in the pontificals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; indeed exorcism interested the writers of liturgical books even less.

10 See Leroquais, *Pontificaux*, 441–42; Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 127–28 for the description and 364–76 for the transcription.

11 See Adolf Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg: Herder, 1909), 362; Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire*, 110; Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 129 for the description and 376–80 for the transcription.

12 Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 130 for the description and 380–84 for the transcription.

before 1163.[13] Both texts are closely related to each other and follow a similar structure. Although the exact relationship between the two accounts is not yet fully understood, B is twice as long and survives in many more copies. Both lives display a special interest in exorcism and there are several minor variations between them. The lives include six detailed accounts of exorcism and these are associated with decisive moments in the saint's life and the construction of his order.

Four of the examples occur in chapter 4 of both *vitae* A and B. The first of these is said to have happened in 1121 and depicts the spectacular healing of a young girl at Nivelles (France) at precisely the moment that the authority of St Norbert was challenged by certain people close to him.[14] The author of *Vita A* reports how this was a difficult time for Norbert; some people from the town had come to him in order to enter the religious life, but had left, unable to bear the austerity of his way of life and rule, and when he visited Nivelles they tried to turn the townspeople against him. Norbert set out a very high ideal of perfection for his brothers. As regular canons they combined a strict religious life with a commitment to pastoral preaching according to ideals directly influenced by the Gregorian reforms. Norbert adopted the Rule of Augustine, or rather the *ordo monasterii*, which predates that rule. It was in a climate of dispute with his followers over adherence to the life of rigorous discipline that a possessed young girl was presented to him.[15]

In the second example in the *vitae*, the object of Norbert's exorcism is the son of a lay brother at his foundation at Prémontré who had become possessed by the devil. Lay brothers, *fratres laici*, were men who joined Norbert's communities without taking holy orders; they often took care of physical tasks in order to lighten the burden of the monks, or administrative tasks if they were educated men. They sometimes included adult men who had already started a family, as in this case where the devil is described as taking one of the lay brother's sons.[16] At

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13 *Vita A*, in *Vita Norberti Archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis*, ed. R. Wilmans, MGH SS 12 (Hanover: Hahn, 1856), 670–706 [BHL 6248]; *Vita B*, *PL* 170:1253–1344 [BHL 6249]. See also Kasper Elm, ed., *Norbert von Xanten. Adliger, Ordensstifter, Kirchenfürst* (Cologne: Wienand, 1985); Wilfred Marcel Grauwen, *Norbert, Erzbischof von Magdeburg (1126–1134)* (Duisbourg: Prämonstratenser-Abtei S. Johann, 1986). For a translation, see *Norbert and Early Norbertine Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Theodore J. Antry and C. Neel (New York: Paulist Press, 2007).

14 On the exorcism of Nivelles, see Wilfred Marcel Grauwen, 'De terugkeer van Hugo en de Duiveluitdrijving door Norbert te Nijvel, 1121', *Analecta praemonstratensia* 67, no. 3–4 (1991): 187–97.

15 *Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 650. On the early period of the order of Prémontré, see Bernard Ardura, *Prémontrés, histoire et spiritualité* (Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 1995).

16 *Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 686.

the abbey of Saint-Martin de Laon, for example, there were 450 lay brothers and fifty canons. The lay brothers attended matins, the morning mass and compline, but devoted themselves to manual work or agriculture the rest of the time. The numerical imbalance between lay brothers and monks occasionally caused tensions within the community.[17] The portrayal of a demon attacking the son of one of the lay brothers shows how vulnerable such men were considered to be. As is clear from other sources, lay brothers were sometimes the object of criticism in the twelfth century. It is noteworthy that although the devil was a threat to someone within Norbert's monastery he did not seek to test the community as a whole, though he is depicted as being capable of approaching and attacking brothers close to the Premonstratensians, as the brothers of Prémontré are known. Satan was thus portrayed as a real threat to the order of St Norbert and from one exorcism to the next, he is reported as never forgetting the successive healing rites to which he had been subjected.[18]

In the next case, the devil attacked the porter of the monastery: this time he did not actually take possession, but rather just threatened the man.[19] The porter, as *Vita A* points out, is the brother charged with giving alms to the poor and with receiving guests. His main duty was to watch the entrance of the monastery and one night when he slept he found himself confronted with a terrifying image of Satan. After three successive nocturnal apparitions, the brother denounced the demon in order to make him leave. This example is not a matter of a possession but rather of a diabolic apparition which led the porter to utter a violent reprimand which is textually formally very similar to an exorcism.

In the final episode in this chapter, the devil attacked the steward of a lord of Maastricht.[20] The demon, probably still the same one as appeared to the porter and lay brother's son, is described as flying there. The steward, in charge of the property of his lord, may have committed some sort of crime for which he was punished with this crisis of possession, though the story does not say so specifically. In order to show that the demon attacks members from every group of society, *Vita A* reports that the next victim was a peasant from Vivières.[21] *Vita B* describes how the peasant became possessed whilst drawing water at a fountain. Carried to the local church of Vivières, he was cared for there by Norbert himself.[22] The final episode in *Vita A* recounts the diabolic possession of one of the soldiers of the Emperor Lothar II in Rome. Norbert is reported

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[17] See Ardura, *Prémontrés*, 45.

[18] When Norbert asks the demon who he is, he answers that he is the one who was in the girl from Nivelles: 'Ei miser, quid agam? Ego sum, inquit, qui fui in puella Nivigellae coram Norberto magistro tuo, albo cane' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 686).

[19] *Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687.

[20] *Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, pp. 687–88.

[21] *Vita A Norberti*, c. 15, p. 690.

[22] *Vita B Norberti*, p. 843.

as healing him only because the pope had refused to do so.[23] As *Vita A* makes clear, Norbert had accompanied Lothar II to Rome in 1133, in order to show his support for Pope Innocent II whose authority had been challenged by the Antipope Anacletus II.

As this summary makes clear, the majority of the accounts of exorcism or diabolic episodes which pepper the story of Norbert's life serve to underline key moments in both his life and in the establishment of his order. They thus serve to validate the saint's authority during his life, and thus the development of his cult.

An Exorcism as Part of the Mass

Exorcism rituals were closely associated with the mass. Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), for example, advocated performing exorcism at the moment of communion within the mass itself.[24] Norbert was not depicted in the *vitae* as actually carrying out his exorcisms whilst celebrating mass; nevertheless, the mass provides an important framework for exorcism in both the accounts in Norbert's *vitae*, and in the evidence of contemporary liturgical texts. As I will go on to discuss, in some of the more detailed stories in the lives, exorcism was associated with the gathering of the community brought about by the mass. The link between exorcism and the mass is also present in some of the twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts; the ritual and penitential of Cologne, for example, includes a 'missa pro demoniaco' at the end of the rite relating to exorcism of the possessed.[25]

One of the striking features of the exorcisms in the life of Norbert is that they are often connected with the mass. In the story of the liberation of the steward of Maastricht from the demon, the author of *Vita A* specifies that the possessed man was brought to St Norbert just after the celebration of the annual parish feast day. Norbert is described as still wearing his holy vestments, the alb and the stole, when the possessed man was brought before him; these vestments were considered to be highly effective against the demon, as the story emphasizes at several points.[26] The first exorcism in *Vita A*, the healing of the young girl

23 *Vita A Norberti*, c. 20, p. 702.

24 See Florence Chave-Mahir, 'Trois exorcismes eucharistiques de saint Bernard de Clairvaux', in *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les églises d'orient et d'occident*, ed. Nicole Bériou, Béatrice Caseau and Dominique Rigaux (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 2009), 987–1000.

25 See Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. latin 14833, fol. 42v (Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 376) and the 'Missa super demoniacum' (*PRG* 121, vol. II: 221–22).

26 'Cum sacris adhuc amictus vestibus immo sancti Spiritus virtute accinctus ad debellandum hostem importunissimum accederet, fratres quidam rogabant eum, ut imbecillitati suae parceret, quia iam vespera erat' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687).

of Nivelles, does not specify when the encounter between the saint and the possessed took place. However, Norbert is described as still wearing his alb and stole, which suggests that he had very recently celebrated mass; then, faced with the demon's resistance, he went to rest and told the sick girl and those present to attend mass the next day.[27] In this case, the ritual is shown to be more effective when associated with the mass. This fits with the evidence in other sources that in the twelfth century at least some people thought that it was most appropriate to perform exorcisms during mass.

The stories in the *vitae* suggest certain other conditions were also considered propitious for conducting the rite. The search for the right time was accompanied by a search for the correct location; that is, the place which would be most effective against the devil. The possessed are usually reported as having been taken to sanctuaries and holy places, that is to churches. *Vita A* even describes how the possessed must be brought to the altar inside the church, which is also of course the spot where the mass was celebrated.[28] This confirms the *potentia* of place, to use Peter Brown's favoured term.[29] To the need for an appropriate context in which to carry out the exorcism Norbert adds the need for the minister himself to be on good form to fight the devil. To achieve this, Norbert advocates a strict regime of physical asceticism. Just as he imposed an austere rule on his order so he also imposed such conditions upon himself, including fasting. For example, during the exorcism carried out on the young girl of Nivelles, when he entered his lodgings, Norbert reportedly said he did not wish to eat until the possessed girl was healed.[30] Fasting is mentioned several times in relation to exorcism. It is a collective act in the case of the lay brother's son: the brothers of the house are all asked to submit themselves humbly to discipline, fasting and prayer.[31] Faced with the case of the steward of Maastricht, the saint himself fasted once again. Fasting was a useful means of penitential purification for the struggle against the devil. Several other twelfth-century works mention the state of ritual purity

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[27] 'Iam vespertina hora erat, et videns pater Norbertus non exisse demonem, aliquantulum contristatus, iussit eam reddi patri et in crastinum ad missam perduci' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 681).

[28] 'Mandavit autem Norbertus duobus fratribus, ut tenerent puellam haut procul ab altari' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 681). The steward of Maastricht is also brought to the altar during the mass: 'Haec dixit et statuto demoniaco ante altare exorcismum aggressus est, demonem compellens ut exiret' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687).

[29] See Brown, *Cult of the Saints*.

[30] 'Pater vero Norbertus ad hospicium se conferens, confirmavit in animo suo non gustare cibum donec puella sanaretur, et ita transegit diem et noctem illam sien cibo' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 681).

[31] 'Ad haec verba prior fratres convocat, qui cum humilitate corporalem disciplinam suscipiunt, ieiuniis et orationibus instituit. Dehinc cum aqua benedicta ad demonem accedunt' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 681).

necessary for one who engages the demon in combat. Peter Lombard, in his *Sentences*, explicitly refers to the necessity for the doctor to take care of himself just as the exorcist must purify himself from the evil that is in him.[32] It seems that a fast inspired by those practised by monks routinely in their communities was believed to be effective against such manifestations of the devil.

The stories of exorcisms in the *vitae* of Norbert, their length and their failures suggest it was sometimes difficult for medieval clerics to succeed in treating such cases of possession. They might have to go through the process several times in order to overcome an extremely resistant demon. As we have mentioned already, the lives twice refer to the alb (a white tunic worn by a priest when celebrating the eucharist) and the stole (worn as a scarf around the neck), the common insignia of a priest, as being effective instruments against the devil. St Norbert's first act when dealing with such a case was to put on these garments.[33] These two sacerdotal vestments here take on the sense of serving as armour in the fight against the devil. According to the *vitae*, Norbert used the stole several times and the devil even tried to strangle him with it.[34] When the devil realized that the saint was taking off his priestly vestments, he mocked him and suggested that he was abandoning the fight.[35] The *vitae* of Norbert of Xanten confirm a practice present in other hagiographic traditions such as that of Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179), who recommends that priests administer the exorcism *ordo* she wrote using the stole.[36] Whilst contemporary liturgical books mention neither the alb nor the stole as being used in exorcisms, their use becomes progressively more evident during the later Middle Ages. Some liturgical manuscripts from the fifteenth century even refer to them as necessary items for exorcisms.[37] It may be that the hagiographical texts preserve evidence for a practice that was not recorded until much later in the liturgical sources. Alternatively, it may be that

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32 Peter Lombard (d. 1160) writes in the *Book of Sentences*: 'Debet autem spiritum mundum habere qui spiritibus imperat immundis, et malignum expellere de corde suo, quem expellit de corpore alieno, ne medicina quam alii facit sibi non prosit, et dicatur ei: Medice, cura te ipsum'. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4–5, 2 vols. (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1971–1981), 2: 398.

33 'Cuius dolori et compatiens servus Dei, albis et stola vestitus super puellam iam duodennem exorcismum legit' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 680).

34 'Tunc puella manum iniecit ad stolam eius, ut collum ipsius astringeret' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 680).

35 'Ipase vero coepit se expoliare alba et aliis missae vestimentis. Quod videns demon insultando clamabat: "Ha, ha, he! Modo bene facis et nondum fecisti michi opus a Deo beneplacitum"' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 680).

36 *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, ed. M. Klaes, CCCM 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 3:21, 61; Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 155–59, 197.

37 For example, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10085, fol. 3v; also see n. 3 above.

hagiographical tales, such as those for Norbert, influenced the development of the recorded liturgy.

Returning to the first story in the life, that of the possessed girl from Nivelles, Norbert's initial efforts to exorcise her proved a failure. After a rest accompanied by fasting and prayer, Norbert is described as having been ready to attack the demon again. One of the more detailed stories tells how the little girl from Nivelles was finally delivered from the devil during the mass itself:

> The next day came and the priest of God prepared himself to celebrate the mysteries of the mass. The young girl was brought to him then in the presence of many people there to witness the outcome of the event. Norbert asked two brothers to hold the girl near the altar. Thus, when the mass had started and he came to read the Bible over the girl's head, the demon said mockingly that he had often heard nonsense of that kind. Afterwards, when the priest raised the host, the demon cried, 'Look! Look! He is holding his little god in his hands.' For demons confess that which the heretics deny. The priest of God shuddered at this and, having invoked the spirit of truth in prayer with great fervour, he began to act against the demon. The latter cried, 'I am burning, I am burning, I am dying! I want to go, I want to go! Let me go!' And as the brothers held the little girl, the unclean spirit fled: marking his foul passage with really vile urine, he abandoned the vessel he had possessed.[38]

The little girl was brought to the altar which is thus portrayed as simultaneously being the place of celebration for the eucharist and that of completion for the exorcism. The rite occurred at the point in the mass when there was the gospel reading. Many other saints' *vitae* also emphasize that a gospel reading was often required during exorcism.[39] There is also some evidence for this in liturgical sources. The exorcism formularies recorded in the *PRG* manuscripts

[38] 'Iam crastina dies advenerat et Dei sacerdos parat se ad celebranda missae mysteria, itemque puella adducitur, et fit multiplex populi concursus, finem rei praestolantis. Mandavit autem Norbertus duobus fratribus, ut tenerent puellam haut procul ab altari. Inchoata itaque missa ventum est ad evangelium, quod cum super caput eius legeretur, demon item irridendo respondit, se huiusmodi liras frequenter audisse. Postmodum sacerdote infra actionem levante hostiam, demon exclamavit: "Videte, videte, ecce iste deiculum suum manibus suis tenet". Fatentur enim demones, quod haereticis negant. Tunc vero sacerdos Dei inhorruit, et concepto spiritu veritatis in ipsa oratione sua instantius coepit agere contra demonem. At ille coactus clamabat: "En ardeo, en ardeo, en morior!" itemque: "Volo exire, volo exire, dimitte me!" Fratribus autem puellam fortiter tenentibus, spiritus immundus foetentissimee urinae foeda relinquens vestigia aufugit, vasque possessum reliquit' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 681).

[39] See Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 150.

mention the possibility of such a reading[40] and the twelfth-century liturgical manuscripts actually recommend it.[41] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this recommendation became more common in liturgical sources.[42] Norbert's *vita* specifies that the gospel book should be held upon the head of the possessed person as if it were itself considered effective and powerful in its own right against the devil.[43]

It is also worth noting one other feature in the story about the girl from Nivelles. In the account of the Nivelles exorcism it was at the actual moment of the raising of the host that the devil spoke to acknowledge the presence of Christ. The *Vita A* text also stresses that the demon recognized the quality of the Eucharist, but glosses the demon's speech with 'Demons confess what heretics deny'.[44] This aspect of the story can be linked to contemporary debates over the Eucharist. This controversy surfaces elsewhere in Norbert's life in the description of the heresy preached by Tanchelm in Antwerp. Norbert mobilized all his energy to go there to preach orthodoxy in 1124, as *Vita A* stresses; that is, three years after the exorcism of the little girl.[45] From the beginning of the 1110s Tanchelm was denounced for challenging the Church, the authority of the pope and the clerics, and the real presence of Christ in the host. This story in Norbert's *vita* therefore uses exorcism to affirm the truth of the real presence in the host, with the flight of the devil at the moment of the host's elevation just after the revelation of its authenticity by the devil himself.

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40 The gospels are cited indirectly in the text found in at least seven manuscripts of the Romano-German Pontifical: 'Nam legimus in evangelio tuo quod cum imperio suo dominus Iesus filius tuus spiritus inmundos eiciebat et passiones ab ipsis illatas potenter curavit' (*PRG* 115, vol. II: 203).

41 'Tunc legantur super caput eius ista evangelia' – then Luke's gospel is read (9:1) and Luke 10:19 and 24–27 (Ritual of Prüm, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 100, fol. 115v. See Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 379–80). See also the manuscript at Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 3909, fol. 252v in Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 383.

42 Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 319.

43 On the question of the Bible as a book for carrying out exorcisms, see Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 318ff.

44 'Fatentur enim demones quod haeretici negant', *Vita A Sancti Norberti*, c. 10, p. 681.

45 'Eo tempore apud Andverpiam, qui locus erat amplissimus et populosus, perniciosa haeresis oborta est. Haereticus enim quidam mirae subtilitatis et versutiae seductor, Tanchelm nomine, ad locum illum veniens suae seductionis ibidem oportunitatem invenit. Erat quidem idem ille sceleratissimus et christianae fidei et totius religionis inimicus in tantum ut obsequium episcoporum et sacerdotum nihil esse diceret, et sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi perceptionem ad salutem perpetuam prodesse denegaret' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 16, p. 691). On Tanchelm, see Uwe Brunn, *Des contestataires aux 'cathares'. Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition* (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Augustiniennes, 2006), 61ff.

The most propitious circumstances for conducting an exorcism were seemingly to be found within the mass. The mass seems to have been favoured because it constituted a time when the faithful met, gathered around the saintly figure of Norbert. But the point of communion acquired particular importance at the time of Tanchelm's critique of the orthodox Church. In the *vitae*, the exorcism ritual gave the demon a chance to speak and, recognizing both the divinity of the host and Norbert's own powers, indirectly to denounce Tanchelm's heresy. Norbert's own fight again the devil through exorcism can thus be compared to the battle of the Church against heresy. Exorcism is also presented as being a liturgical practice which was not fixed, but could be adapted in response to different circumstances.

The Formulae of Exorcism Borrowed from Liturgical Books

The stories relating to exorcism in the Life of Norbert include many formulae – the words said by the saint during the rituals. *Vita A* in particular contains a good number of them. How far are these like or comparable with the texts found in contemporary liturgical books?

When the unnamed prior of the monastery of Prémontré (near Laon, France) tries to heal the son of a lay brother, he pronounces the formula:

> Adjuro te, per Iesum Christum filium Dei, qui tuas in cruce vicit insidias et potestatem, quam iniuste et fraudulenter rapueras super hominem, iuste et potenter recepit, ut quis sis celare non praesumas.
>
> I command you by Jesus Christ, Son of God, who triumphed over your tricks and your power upon the cross, who in all justice has taken back the power which you fraudulently usurped over man that you might not presume to hide it.[46]

In its construction this formula is completely faithful to the liturgical tradition. The operative *adjuro te* formula features many times in the formal liturgical record. This formulation seems to have been favoured for use against a demon who possesses an individual. (The words *exorcizo te* are more often used in rites for the exorcism of things, which are actually blessings for those objects, such as for the components of holy water.[47]) The initial words of Norbert's formula can be found many times in the various texts cited in the *PRG* tradition, such as in the phrase 'Adiuro te per Deum vivum et per Deum omnipotentem ...' (I

[46] *Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 686.

[47] See J. Magne, 'Exploration généalogique dans les textes d'exorcisme', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 73 (1961): 323–64; Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 97–99.

command you by the living God and by Almighty God …).[48] One also finds some exorcism formulae which begin *adjuro te* in the German manuscripts of the twelfth century in versions which are longer than the 'model' in the *PRG* group.[49] Whilst this particular formula in *Vita A* is not identical to any I know of in the liturgical manuscripts, it is faithful to them in both its *incipit* and its invocation of Christ, which condemns the devil's usurpation of power. It also follows the same pattern as they do of referring to the story of the life of Christ and the battle in which He engaged with the forces of evil.

In the same account, the porter of Prémontré is reported as pronouncing an adjuration against the diabolical apparition that appeared to him. The demon is then cursed:

> Wretched creature, you were Lucifer, the star of the dawn; you were among the delights of paradise but that was not enough for you. You said, 'I shall sit upon the mountain of the gods, I shall be like the Most High.' So you have lost your former greatness, you have preferred the shadows to the light, wretchedness to beatitude, the filth of pigs to paradise. What a handsome exchange! What a splendid advantage for you! This is not where you belong – go wallow with the pigs in the filth and there in those stinking places await the moment of your judgement.[50]

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48 *PRG*, 118.2, vol. II: 211 (from five manuscripts) and Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 14833, fol. 40v; Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 374. See also: 'Adiuro te, per Deum altissimum, maledicte Satanas, ne famulum suum artibus tuis temptare nitaris, neque eum violentium teneas …' (*PRG* 115. 42 vol. II: 204–5 and Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 14833, fol. 37; Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 370).

49 'Adiuro ergo te serpens antique, per iudicem vivorum et mortuorum, factorem mundi, per creatorem omnium rerum, per patrem eternum et per unigenitum Ihesum Christum Filium eius Dominum nostrum ante secula genitum et in seculo ex matre [ex matre] virgine verum hominem temporaliter natum et per Spiritum sanctum ex Patre et Filio procedentem, coeternum et consubstantialem patri et filio qui trinus et unus vivens per immortalia secula et regnans sine fine, qui habet potestatem occidere et vivificare, perdere et salvare et mittere in gehennam, per eum te adiuro ut ab hoc famulo Dei cum omni malitia tua et cum omni militia exercitus tui festinus sine mora discedas. Adiuro te, non ex mea infirmitate eternum eiusdem patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, ut exeas et recedas ab isto plasmate Dei quem ipse ad imaginem suam fecit'. This long formula is found in two manuscripts of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 100, fol. 112ff (Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 378). See also Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3909, fol. 251 (Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 382).

50 'Miser et misserrime tu quondam Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris, in deliciis paradysi fuisti, sed cum tibi non sufficerent haec et diceres: 'Ponam sedem meam ad aquilonem, ero similis Altissimo', idem quod eras amisisti, pro luce tenebras, pro beatitudine miseriam, pro loco deliciarum foetorem, cum porcis eligens commutasti. En dignum concambium, idonea commutatio. Eia non hic tibi locus est, sed in foetore cloacarum te volutans porcis assimilare et in locis putentibus districti tempus examinis praestolare' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687).

This adjuration mentions both the devil's desire to get closer to paradise and his swift fall. This is very similar to adjurations in liturgical texts which also frequently recall Lucifer's primordial treason, citing, as did the porter, Isaiah 14:14 which attributes to the demon the desire to rule in paradise and be like God.[51] But the porter continues with a diatribe against the demon, likening him to the world of animals, and more specifically to the rank world of pigs. This particular comparison of the devil to a pig and to latrines does not feature in the liturgy of the *PRG* manuscripts although there are clear resonances with the Gospels.[52]

Finally, *Vita A*'s account of Norbert's life includes the words with which each exorcism should finish:

> Inde sacrae mos inolevit ecclesiae, ut omnium exorcizmorum conclusio in fine sic sonet: 'Exorcizo te per eum qui venturus et iudicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem'.
>
> Thenceforward arose the sacred Church's custom of ending every exorcism with the words 'I exorcise you through him who will come to judge the living and the dead and the age through the fire'.[53]

One of the exorcisms in the *PRG* tradition, called 'The exorcism of St Ambrose' in Vogel and Elze's edition, ends with almost exactly the same formula:

> Qui vivit et regnat cum spiritu sancto in gloria patris, quique venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem.
>
> He who lives and rules with the Holy Spirit in the glory of the Father and who will come to judge the living and the dead and the age by the fire.[54]

The phrase in the *vita* seems to come straight from a liturgical book.

The majority of the exorcism formulae presented in the *vitae* of Norbert of Xanten were clearly inspired by the rites recorded in the formal liturgy. The writers of these lives were sufficiently knowledgeable about the liturgy of

51 'Tu ab origine superbus et invidiosas artes machinans, Deo te esse similem voluisti dicens: 'Ascendam in nubem et ero similis altissimo [Isa. 14:14]'. Tibi enim parum visa fuit angelica dignitas, forma qua prius utebaris' (*PRG*, 118.3, vol. II: 213) ; this particular text appears in three manuscripts according to Vogel and Elze's edition.

52 See in particular the figure of the possessed man of Gerasa: Christ exorcises him and sends the demons that possessed him into some pigs which fall from a cliff (Luke 8:26–39; Mark 5:1–20; Matt. 8:28–34).

53 *Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687.

54 *PRG*, 118.2, vol. II: 212.

exorcism that they were able to find and use the right words against the demon.[55] *Vita A* of Norbert is certainly a text written with an eye for detail, but it is also the work of a cleric who was able to draw on the formal liturgy to write it. Because of its fidelity to the liturgical sources, this *vita* of Norbert is a very important document for students of the history of exorcism. But certain of the choices made in order to carry out the exorcisms in the narrative lead one to wonder if the writers did not sometimes take liberties with existing liturgical tradition.

A Free Liturgical Action?

In the manner of Christ, who knew how to improvise and find the appropriate actions and prayers for every situation, Norbert is shown as able to free himself from the constraints of the formal liturgy in his fight against Satan. Thus at certain moments in the story the saint seems to invent actions and techniques in his confrontation with the powers of evil.

The most surprising improvisations in the life are found in the extraordinary tale of the exorcism of the young girl of Nivelles. Having received the possessed girl and her father, Norbert, dressed in his alb and stole, began to read exorcisms over her. But his recitation was constantly interrupted by the demon's shows of bravado: the demon began by describing the words of the exorcism as 'nonsense' (*liras*); it then asked Norbert to renounce his faith by the blood of the martyrs and provided a distraction by reciting the entire *Song of Songs* in both French and German, declaring that it wished to possess one of the monks present and then make the church's vaults fall down on those in attendance. Although, when the possessed girl tried to strangle Norbert with his stole, the demon immediately lost its power. All these incidents led Norbert to take radical action, shaving the young girl's hair and plunging her in exorcised water.[56] The haircut of the young girl from Nivelles has no equivalent in the liturgy. It seems more closely related to the tonsure that medieval medical doctors gave to the insane in the hope of giving their head some fresh air. Otherwise, faced with continued symptoms, doctors might make recourse to trepanning. Was Norbert thought to have been inspired by

55 One example of a hagiographer who was also a liturgist seems to have been Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, working at St Augustine's, Canterbury (among other places) in the late eleventh century. See Richard Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth: Hagiography and Liturgy in Context', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 41, no. 2 (1990): 502–16. I thank Helen Gittos for this reference.

56 'Iam itaque plurima parte diei cosumpta, pater Norbertus consilium habuit, ut in aqua exorzizata puella poneretur. Et ita factum est. Et quia flavis erat venusta capillis, sacerdos verens ne occasione crinium dyabolum in ea potestatem haberet, eam tonderi iussit' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 10, p. 680).

this medical practice or did he simply decide, as the text says, to cut the girl's hair because it was reputed to attract the demon and to be the seat of vice?[57]

The lay brother's son is similarly plunged into exorcised water.[58] This surprising innovation, which has no equivalent in other hagiographic stories from the same period, has several possible explanations with regard to contemporary liturgical practice. Indeed, some liturgical books recommend changing the clothes of the possessed and sprinkling them with blessed water.[59] Another text, entitled 'On the fast required for the possessed', which is edited in the *PRG*, recommends 'washing the hands, face, feet and all other parts of the body with nothing but consecrated water for six weeks'.[60] This purification with blessed water is clearly analagous to the baptismal purification which also required exorcism; it is thus not surprising to see Norbert choose this kind of purification. Was this also intended to send a sign to the followers of Tanchelm who were said to have challenged all the sacraments of the Church by carrying out this kind of baptism by immersion?

The administration of exorcised water to the possessed was often accompanied by that of blessed salt. The steward of Maastricht gets salt in his mouth[61] and the peasant of Vivières has his gums rubbed with blessed salt:

> In response to the many people who requested it, father Norbert approached the possessed man and sprinkled him with blessed water. Then, rubbing his gums with blessed salt and washing him with blessed water, he commanded him to eat nothing during the following nine days that had not been seasoned with blessed salt and consecrated water. This done, the man returned home healed.[62]

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57 On the medical approaches to possession and the tonsure, see Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 45.

58 'Cui cum praeceptum datum fuisset et alii discessissent, ille solus tenuit et ad aspectum vultus sui trementem eum ad aquam benedictam adduxit. Ponitur in aqua exorzizata, leguntur exorcismi et euangelia, orant et plorant fratres in disciplinis corporalibus, veniis et variis afflictionibus, tandem post nimias miserrimi corporis vexationes demon super linguam hominis residens in modum grani nigerrimae lenticulae' (*Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687).

59 'Tunc induat vestimentis novis, aspersis cum aqua benedicta, et tunc vadat ante altare …': Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. lat. 1888, fol. 81v–82 in Franz, *Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen*, 562.

60 'Manus autem neque faciem neque pedes neque ullum corporis membrum in illis sex ebdomadis lavet, nisi cum aqua benedicta' (*PRG*, 120, vol. II: 220). See the manuscript of the Library of Bamberg, Ms. Lit. 53, fol. 161v–162r; the Pontifical of Gundekar, Eichstätt, Diözesanarchiv, Cod. B4, fol. 163v; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 701, fol. 111v–112r, and Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 14, fol. 124v.

61 'Haec dixit et statuto demoniaco ante altare exorcismum aggressus est, demonem compellens ut exiret. Et cum salem exorzizatum ori eius immisisset, ille magno impetu in faciem et in oculos sacerdotis exspuit': *Vita A Norberti*, c. 14, p. 687.

62 'Pater Norbertus multis postulantibus ad hominem obsessum accessit, eumque aqua benedicta aspersit. Dehinc gingivas eius sale benedicto fricans et aqua benedicta lavans,

This 'exorcistic regime', which is surprising at first sight, should also be linked to the common recommendations in liturgical rites of the period. In fact, the text referred to above entitled 'On the fast required for the possessed' demands that nothing be eaten apart from certain foods, preferably light, and dressed with blessed salt and water.[63] Abstaining from food is also recommended to the emperor's soldier.[64] This act indicates once again that the writers of Norbert's *vitae* were perfectly aware of contemporary liturgical practices.

It thus appears that through these immersions, the contact with blessed water and salt and even the haircut, the possessed underwent a process of renewal. This exorcism, which sometimes also had a penitential dimension, thus took the form of a new baptism with the use of water and salt.

Conclusions

Norbert is depicted in the life as a cleric who has mastered the liturgy of exorcism. The actions that the saint undertakes over the possessed are steeped in the rites for exorcism: the words and some of the actions even appear in the pontificals of the period. But the ritual is rendered as being far more dynamic than the liturgical sources suggest; the narrative in the life stages, relates and develops all the twists and turns of the combat. Whereas the liturgical formulae speak of the battle against the demon, the narrative tells of the difficulties of the struggle in which all exorcists are engaged from the moment they undertake to drive the demon from a possessed body. The fight is not a trivial encounter, it continues the ongoing combat against the devil led by Christ and continued by the saints throughout their *vitae*. The saint, like the cleric, must have his own arms, such as his stole. The liturgy and the lives of the saints are thus closely linked and these links allow us to better understand a religious practice that has left little trace in liturgical sources before the fifteenth century. Comparing the liturgical and hagiographical sources, as in this example, allows us to understand more about exorcism rituals in this period, even if we do not know whether they were actually often used against the possessed.

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praecepit ei, ut per novem continuos sequentes dies nullis uteretur cibis, nisi sale benedicto et aqua benedicta conditis. Hoc facto sanatus homo in propiam domum rediit': *Vita A Norberti*, c. 15, p. 690.

63 Chave-Mahir, *L'exorcisme*, 113–19.

64 'Vir autem Dei ad confesionem eum hortatus est, et tam pro praeteritorum peccatorum remissione quam pro gratiarum actione per dies aliquot a lautioribus cibis abstinere praecepit, in veritate denuncians, si constitutam praevaricaretur abstinentiae regulam, eandem quam evaserat poenam sibi affuturam': *Vita A Norberti*, c. 21, p. 702.

Chapter 8

Rites for Dedicating Churches

Mette Birkedal Bruun and Louis I. Hamilton[1]

Although the precise origins of Christian rites for dedication are murky and the origin of Christian sacred space is itself debated, even the earliest Christians shared with Judaism a sense of *terra sancta*.[2] In turn, the notion of Jerusalem as the holy land *par excellence* became canonical through the orthodox acceptance of the Book of Revelation as authentic. John's vision of the end of time culminates (in Revelation 21:12) in the re-establishment of Jerusalem: 'the holy city of Jerusalem coming down out of heaven from God'.[3] After the conversion of Constantine, pilgrimage to Jerusalem rapidly became popular among Christians.[4] It is also clear, that at least as early as Constantine, some churches were initiated by a distinct form of dedication rite.[5] That is, almost as soon as Christianity was licit and took on a public role in Roman society, we have evidence both for some churches being dedicated in a distinct manner and for Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site. Dedication sermons, and with them much stronger evidence for the rite, soon followed.[6] The notion that the space was distinct within the community and related to the Heavenly Jerusalem was commented on directly by Eusebius

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[1] Louis I. Hamilton wrote the introduction and the section on liturgical rites; Mette Birkedal Brunn that on sermons; the final reflections were jointly authored.

[2] For a survey of the earliest evidence, see Francis E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[3] See the brief overview of the development of the allegorical reading of scripture in early Christianity as it refers to the Temple in Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 1–23.

[4] E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

[5] Thaddeus S. Ziolkowski, *The Consecration and Blessing of Churches: A Historical Synopsis and Commentary* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1943).

[6] For fifth-century Gaul, for example, Ian Wood has found ample evidence, 'The Audience of Architecture in Post-Roman Gaul', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H.M. Taylor*, ed. L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), 74–79.

of Caesarea (260–341 CE).[7] The rapid emergence of practices of dedication may reflect an adaptation of preceding non-Christian practices and/or the existence of a Christian precedent lost to us.[8]

In the earliest centuries, an inaugural mass appears to have most commonly marked the dedication of the church.[9] The deposition of relics into a new altar became normative from at least 787, when it was prescribed at the second Council of Nicaea.[10] A rite for the deposition of relics in a new church appears in Roman *ordines* from about this time.[11] There was never one rite for the dedication of churches in the Middle Ages, nor was the rite uniformly practised or enforced. Tracing changes in how it was practised (as opposed to how it was presented in liturgical texts or commentaries) is exceedingly difficult and much work remains to be done.[12] The rite was unclear enough even to contemporaries that as late as the fifteenth century, a cleric complained that, 'Concerning the dedication or consecration of churches there is so much variety and various [customs] that, not only do they not agree in many points, but they often

7 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Gustave Bardy, Sources chrétiennes, 31, 41, 55 and 73 (Paris: Cerf, 1952–60), Book X, cc. III–IV.

8 Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City: Consecrating Churches and Reforming Society in Eleventh-Century Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 14. For an effort to further trace the origins of the rite, see Brian V. Repsher, 'The Abecedarium: Catechetical Symbolism in the Rite of Church Dedication', *Mediaevalia* 24 (2003): 1–18. See also Louis I. Hamilton, 'Les dangers du rituel dans l'Italie du XIe siècle: entre textes liturgiques et témoignages historiques', in *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration d'église dans l'occident médiéval*, ed. Didier Méhu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 159–88.

9 Ziolkowski, *Consecration and Blessing of Churches*, 14–15.

10 Ziolkowski, *Consecration and Blessing of Churches*, 14–15.

11 *OR*, vol. 4, 336.

12 See Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 14. Physical evidence will prove essential in any effort to capture the earliest Christian notions of space. See, for example, the recent discoveries at Megiddo, described by Yotam Tepper and Leah Di Segni, *A Christian Prayer Hall of the Third Century CE at Kefar 'Othnay (Legio): Excavations at the Megiddo Prison 2005* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2006). The floor mosaics discovered certainly suggest a space set apart and marked for worship. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Collins both emphasize Paul's notion of the individual Christian as the temple: Dominique Iogna-Prat, *La maison dieu: une histoire monumentale de l'église au moyen âge (v. 800–v. 1200)* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2006), 30–33; Patrick Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 7–8. Collins notes the wide range of views on sacred space in the first centuries of Christianity. It should be noted that Paul and the earliest Christians continued to worship at the Temple in Jerusalem, as at Acts 2:46 and 21:26. I am not convinced that Paul's notion of the body as Temple was intended as an assault on sacred space per se, or that early Christians understood it as such. See also Jennifer Harris, 'The Body as Temple in the High Middle Ages', in *Sacrifice in Religious Experience*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 233–56.

contradict themselves.'[13] It is clear, however, that during the Carolingian period in the ninth century and the so-called Gregorian reforms in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries there was intense clerical interest in the ritual in relation to larger debates about ecclesiology and sacrality.[14] The purpose of this chapter is to consider the problems and possibilities of a variety of sources associated with church dedications and the methods that will help reveal the multiple possible meanings of these rites. We wish to emphasize that each dedication event would have had its own range of possible significances.[15] For this reason we have divided the chapter into an initial section on the variety of the rites, and a second section on the interpretation of the rite through sermons. In discussing the rites we will use the term 'practised' in preference to the term 'performance', as the latter carries with it certain anthropological implications that emphasize rituals as being stable and reinforcing social stability.[16] Ritual had the capacity to generate power, rather than simply reflect power within a community; therefore, this instability ought to be expected and needs to be examined. The rite – as practised in that particular moment – would have contributed to those significances. The particular practice depended not only on the rite available, but the church itself, and the topography of its setting. From the fifth century, sermons would have attempted to direct the meaning of the event for participants, although we cannot assume that was the significance a participant perceived. The participants themselves, in addition, would have consciously or unconsciously shaped the event. This is most clearly revealed in the historical record when participants oppose the dedication through violence,

[13] The Pontifical of Charles de Neufchatel as transcribed in Leroquais, *Pontificaux*, 1: 77. Cited by Thomas Davies Kozacheck, 'The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy and Ritual', DPhil diss., Harvard University, 1995, 1. See also p. 16 above.

[14] For the Carolingian period, see Iogna-Prat, *La maison dieu*; Collins, *Carolingian Debate*; and D. Polanichka, 'Transforming Space, (Per)forming Community: Church Consecration in Carolingian Europe', *Viator* 43 (2012): 79–98 (emphasizing the uniting force of the ritual); on the Gregorian reformers' efforts to shape the meaning of the rite, see Hamilton, *Sacred City*.

[15] Hamilton intends a distinction between 'meaning' (that which may have been alluded to in rite, space or sermons) and 'significance' (that for which we have evidence as being perceived meaning by a participant). See Hamilton, 'Desecration and Consecration in Norman Capua, 1062–1122: Contesting Sacred Space during the Gregorian Reforms', *Haskins Society Journal* 14 (2003): 137–50.

[16] As rightly observed in the introduction to *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals*, ed. Nils Holger Petersen et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003). Throughout this article Hamilton is emphasizing ritual instability in the dedication and the manner in which rites attracted opposition, noting that sermons asserted a meaning often in line with the notion of social stability in performance theory.

but their active support gave important force to the rite and made it important for the clergy to try to direct its meaning through sermons.

Liturgical Rites

Numerous studies concerning the dedication of churches have appeared in the last decade.[17] As a rule, these analyses of the liturgy and its significance have been indebted to the so-called *Ordo* 40 found in the edition of the *Pontifical romano-germanique* as edited by Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze.[18] As Table 4.1 of Henry Parkes' article in this volume makes clear, *Ordo* 40 of the Vogel and Elze edition is a reconstruction based upon all nine of the manuscripts they consulted. It is contained in a tenth-century manuscript but is believed to be based on an earlier precedent.[19] The *Ordo* prescribes a rite of approximately thirty-one steps.[20]

1. Vesting of the clergy.
2. Vigil with the relics, outside of the church and inside a tent with the sung litany.
3. Procession from the tent to the church with the relics.
4. Triple circuit around the church. The bishop sprinkles the walls with holy water and knocks on the main doors at each circuit, reciting the antiphon, *Tollite portas*.
5. The church doors are opened from the interior and the bishop enters with a few clergy.
6. Litany and prostration.
7. Inscription of Greek and Latin alphabets in ash on the floor of the church in a cruciform pattern (the abecedarium).
8. Preparation of the 'Gregorian Water'.

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17 To name some of the more prominent recent studies contributing to the study of the significance of the dedication rite: Thomas Kozachek, 'Repertory'; Brian V. Repsher, *The Rite of Church Dedication in the Early Medieval Era* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998); Eric Palazzo, *L'évêque et son image: l'illustration du pontifical au moyen âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999); Didier Méhu, *Paix et communautés autour de l'abbaye de Cluny Xe–XVe siècle* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2001); Iogna-Prat, *La maison dieu*; Méhu, ed., *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'occident médiéval* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Hamilton, *Sacred City*; Polanichka, 'Transforming Space'; Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), ch. 6.

18 *PRG*.

19 See Polanichka, 'Transforming Space', 85.

20 For a more complete description, see Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 13–50.

9. Consecration of altar.
10. Aspersion of altar (seven times).
11. Aspersion of interior of church (three circuits).
12. Aspersion of length and width of interior.
13. Prayer of consecration.
14. Proceed to altar.
15. Preparation of mortar.
16. Incensing and anointing of altar with oil and chrism.
17. Anointing of interior walls with chrism.
18. Return to altar.
19. Incensing altar.
20. Prayer of consecration.
21. Blessing of linens, ornaments, vestments, etc.
22. Exit church to tent; change of vestments.
23. Prayers outside of doors; blessing of doors.
24. Process around exterior of church with laity.
25. Address to people, lord and constructor of church.
26. Entrance with relics.
27. Installation of relics into altar.
28. Anointing of altar with chrism.
29. Vesting of altar.
30. Illumination of church.
31. Mass.

The elaborateness of this rite as described in *Ordo* 40 clearly marks the space as distinct from others within the community. Scholars have expanded on this in multiple ways. Didier Méhu has observed that, in the dramatic example of Cluny, as dedicated by Urban II in 1095, the dedication rite, with its encircling of the church building, mirrored Cluny's own territorial circle of privilege, itself marked by a series of churches.[21] In this case, the liturgy reflected and reinforced Cluny's position within the landscape. Dominique Iogna-Prat has argued that the dedication at Cluny, coinciding as it did with Urban's call for Crusade, and when placed in the larger context of a debate over the sacrality of place, also marked a particular ordering of society that was increasingly intolerant of religious difference.[22] Moreover, this notion of sacred space as it developed primarily in the Carolingian era, but which came to the fore in the eleventh century, marked a rupture with early Christian notions of space, that Iogna-

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[21] Méhu, *Paix et communautés*, 152–65.

[22] Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 168–79.

Prat describes as in opposition to pagan notions of the sacred.[23] Scholarship on the dedication, therefore, has emphasized how the rite marked communities of power, but it has paid less attention to the variety of ritual practice and, therefore, of meaning.

There was, however, a great variety in dedication rites and rarely can we be certain what rite was used where. For example, in southern Italy in the eleventh century, at least five different versions of the rite were available.[24] A still greater number of forms of the rite can be found on the Italian peninsula in the eleventh century. If we consider, for example, the rite as found in the central Italian manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Latina 4770, from the late tenth or early eleventh century, it contains fewer than half of the steps named above.[25] Its approximately fourteen steps share aspects of *Ordo* 40 but are in a different order: 6, 3, 5, 15, 10, 3, 26, 27, 28, 29, 11, 30, 31 of those listed above. Absent from Vat. Lat. 4770 are the triple circuits of the exterior of the church (step 4), the anointing of the interior walls (step 17) and the tracing of the alphabets on the floor (step 7) among other steps found in *Ordo* 40. Their absence or inclusion surely altered the significance of the rite for the participants. These last two aspects of the rite were to be conducted by the bishop and his clergy while alone inside the church and so their absence or presence would have changed the significance of the rite for them. The triple circumambulation, however, and with it the aspersions of the exterior walls, engaged the entire community visually. Moreover, Vat. Lat. 4770 also lacks the second exterior procession around the church that we see in *Ordo* 40 (step 24 above). That procession was intended to include the entire congregation. Also absent from Vat. Lat. 4770 is the instruction for the bishop directly to address the 'lay lord and constructor' of the church. The absence of these steps would have dramatically diminished the participation of the laity. Without the triple exterior circuits and the aspersion of the exterior walls, the most visible signs of the dedication as a kind of baptism of the church were removed.[26]

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23 The full argument is presented in his *La Maison Dieu*, but see also Iogna-Prat, 'Churches in the Landscape', in *Early Medieval Christianities*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 363–79.

24 For comparative tables see Roger E. Reynolds, 'Les cérémonies liturgiques de la cathédrale de Bénévent', in *La cathédrale de Bénévent*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Ghent: Ludion, 1999), 167–205; and Hamilton, *Sacred City*, Tables 1–3, pp. 27–50.

25 See the description in Reynolds, 'Les cérémonies liturgiques', 167–205; John Boe and Alejandro Planchart, eds., *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus 2: Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250. Part 1 Kyrie Eleison*, 2 vols. (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1989), 1:2.

26 Repsher, studying the commentary known as the *Quid significent duodecim candelae*, argues that it is an interpretation of *Ordo* 40 as a baptism. Others have argued from the form of the rite and from sermons that the rite was understood as a baptism of the church: Iogna-

It should be remembered that liturgical texts are prescriptive, not descriptive sources. The rite may never have been practised as the pontifical said it must. Topography can provide important evidence in this regard. To give one example, churches built into mountainsides or existing infrastructure could not be readily circumambulated, if at all. Thus, in 1092, when Urban II dedicated Santissima Trinità at Cava, whose northern wall is partially built against the mountainside, it is difficult to imagine how a circumambulation could have been accomplished.[27] A monastic complex provides other problems as well, with multiple structures (cloister, dormitories, etc.) physically attached to the church. Therefore it is hard to imagine the circumambulation of Montecassino by Alexander II in 1071, even though the pontifical copied out under Desiderius, abbot of Montecassino (c. 1026–87), required an exterior circuit with the populus singing the *kyrie*.[28] The tenth-century manuscript produced at Montecassino or one of its dependencies, Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia 451, contains *Ordines* 40 and 33, both of which call for exterior circumambulation.[29] It is possible, if *Ordo* 33 were used, that clerics (not Alexander) separately accomplished the one required exterior circuit, aspersing the church by means of a complicated route that would have taken them around the entire monastic complex and perilously close to the edge of the mountain itself.[30] Perhaps three dangerous and complicated circuits around the monastic complex were made. Topography reminds us, then, that these are prescriptive sources and that ritual analysis, while desirable, must be done with caution when based on texts.[31] In the broadest sense, the rite displayed the authority of the bishop and it clearly attempted to mark the church as set apart from the community as a whole. At a time when bishops were attempting to establish the 'Peace of God' (condemning violence against noncombatants and in sacred spaces) or their own position, the rite could have reinforced those themes. At the same time, a church's topographical location may indicate that it had a military or defensive purpose and was, despite the Peace, built in anticipation of its having a military role.[32]

Prat, *La maison dieu*; Lee Bowen, 'Tropology of Mediaeval Dedication Rites', *Speculum* 16 (1941): 469–79.

27 For the relationship of the church to the mountain, see Simeone Leone, 'La chiesa di S. Alferio fondatore della badia di Cava', *Benedictina* 27 (1980): 393–416.

28 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barberini latinus 631.

29 See Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 110.

30 Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1072, fig. 54.

31 See Hamilton, 'Les dangers du rituel', 159–61, 173.

32 Hamilton, 'Memory, Symbol, and Arson: Was Rome Sacked in 1084?', *Speculum* 78 (2003): 378–99.

Without significant groups of people observing the rite, it must be noted, the rite would have been an impotent means to assert the bishop's authority or social norms, such as the Peace. We do have substantial evidence that rites did sometimes involve large numbers of clerics and laity from across the social spectrum.[33] Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis (France, 1122–51) reported that the crowds at the dedication of Saint-Denis were so great that during the rite of aspersing the exterior of the church the king and his soldiers beat back the crowd with branches and sticks in order to protect the doors; elsewhere Suger describes the crowd as forming a more joyful, more decorous procession: both may be true.[34] Bruno of Asti, bishop of Segni, cardinal legate, and abbot of Montecassino (d. 1123), observed in passing that it was fitting that 'large throngs of people gathered at the dedication of churches'.[35]

Clerics associated with these churches would tend to record the pious enthusiasm of the crowds who assembled at the dedication of a church and so their accounts should be treated with caution especially when lacking in detail. However, there is also evidence for resistance to both the building and the consecration of churches that may be considered more reliable. For example, in Italy, in a twenty-year period in the eleventh century, four different papal dedications were marked by some form of violence or threat of violence, in Bari (1092), Parma (1104), Modena (1106) and Capua (1108). The situations varied. In Bari in 1087, a group who stole the relics of St Nicholas (a group that included clergy, children of clergy, nobles, *boni homines* – civic notables of legal standing, merchants and sailors) fought a skirmish with, and defeated, the bishop's armed men in order to retain control over the relics and the right to build their own church for them. This group had already formed an alliance with a local abbot, Elias, who would later be consecrated bishop by Urban II, who also dedicated the church of San Nicola.[36] Thus, there were no clear divisions in Bari along civic or religious lines. In Modena, a group of eighteen armed

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33 The evidence for eleventh-century Italy is discussed in detail in ch. 2 of Hamilton, *Sacred City*.

34 It is not entirely clear if the king and his retinue only were impeded by the crowd, or if the crowd was also impeding the rite although that seems most probable. Suger, *De consecratione*, in *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis ausgewählte schriften: Ordinatio, De consecratione, De administratione*, ed. Andreas Speer and Günther Binding. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), 242; Suger, *De administratione*, in *Abt Suger*, 322. See also *Suger, Oeuvres 1*, ed. and trans. Françoise Gasparri (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1996), 44–47, 114–15; Günther Binding and Andreas Speer, *Abt Suger von Saint-Denis, De consecratione; kommentierte Studienausgabe* (Cologne: Abt. Architekturgeschichte, 1995); and *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946).

35 Bruno of Segni, *Libri sententiarum, PL* 165: 879c.

36 This is discussed in detail in Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 135–42.

knights and citizens, apparently mistrusting Matilda, countess of Tuscany, were permitted to be present at the deposition of the relics of St Geminiano into the altar of the basilica during the consecration. The rite was led by Pope Paschal II and among those present were Matilda, the new bishop, Dodo, and the architect Lanfranc along with the armed knights and citizens. It should be recalled that the deposition of the relics, according to every dedication rite from the period that I have studied, was supposed to take place only in the presence of the bishop and his clergy and certainly not an armed group of the laity. Thus, the explicit threat of violence was accommodated in the practice of the rite at Modena.[37]

In two other cases, Parma and Capua, a recently consecrated space elicited violence and destruction. In Parma in 1104, people destroyed a chapel Matilda built within the recently rebuilt cathedral, in opposition to an anti-imperial and reformist sermon preached by the papal legate. It was clear that the chapel represented Matilda's local authority, and a strong military response from her was required to exact payment for the damage and restore her authority.[38] In Capua, a chapel dedicated by Bruno of Segni in 1106 at Sant'Angelo in Formis (a few miles outside the city) was destroyed by soldiers of Sennes, archbishop of Capua. Sennes probably considered the dedication of a church closely linked to Montecassino by Bruno, then bishop of Segni and abbot of Montecassino, as a threat to his regional episcopal authority.

This example from Capua introduces another aspect of the rite's possible meanings, that given to it through its architecture and art.[39] In the case of Sant'Angelo, the very large image in the church's apse fresco of its builder, Abbot Desiderius (later Victor III, 1086–87), emphasized the authority and presence of the abbey of Montecassino in and around Capua. Interestingly, not

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37 Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 187–95.

38 Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 196.

39 Examples of studies of art and architecture of particular interest to dedication rites include: Lucy E.G. Donkin, '*Usque ad ultimum terrae*: Mapping the Ends of the Earth in Two Medieval Floor Mosaics', in *Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Fresh Perspectives, New Methods*, ed. Richard J.A. Talbert and Richard Watson Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 189–218; Cécile Treffort, 'Une consécration "à la lettre". Place, rôle et autorité des textes incrits dans la sacralisation de l'église', *Mises en scène*, ed. Méhu, 219–52; Yann Codou, 'La consésecration du lieu de culte et ses traductions graphiques: inscriptions et marques lapidaires dans la Provence des XIe–XIIe siècles', in *Mises en scène*, ed. Méhu, 253–84; Donkin, 'Mosaici pavimentali medievali nell'Italia settentrionale e i loro rapporti con la liturgia', *Atti del X Convegno dell'Associazione Italiane per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico* (Tivoli: Edizioni Scripta Manent, 2005), 503–14; Elizabeth C. Parker, 'Architecture as Liturgical Setting', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2001), 273–326; Nancy Spatz, 'Church Porches and the Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Rome', in *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 327–67.

only did Paschal II censure Sennes, but he also joined Bruno in dedicating the church of San Benedetto in Capua in 1108. In this manner, Bruno and Paschal clearly employed the rite of consecration to reassert Bruno's authority.[40] These examples of participation in the rite expressed through violent opposition reveal the significance such rites could have and the diversity of interpretations of them and reactions to them. They also demonstrate the variety of views that could be held about these ceremonies in which monks and laity were pitted against bishops, the laity were confronting the reforming popes, and popes were confronting bishops. Clearly power was at stake in the consecration, but this was not a fixed performance with a fixed conclusion; it had no single 'function'.

If, as suggested, there is no single meaning for the rite and it was not uniformly practised, then clerical efforts to direct it or guide interpretation of it must be understood as precisely that, the efforts by a specific cleric to create significance for the rite for a specific audience. That a sermon or commentary attempted to shape the meaning of a rite reveals that it was clearly perceived as significant and worth shaping. Moreover, the emphasis placed on the rite in sermons and in liturgical sources during the Carolingian and Gregorian periods reflects an effort to assert meaning through ritual practice and interpretation, an effort whose success depended on the many factors discussed above that were largely beyond the control of papal or imperial authorities. Even though it can be difficult to connect a specific sermon to a specific rite, sermons, however, remain a central piece of evidence in the effort to shape the meaning of a particular church and it is to those that we now turn.[41]

Sermons

What did church dedication rites signify to medieval people? Which texts are we to turn to if we want to find out? The *ordines* spring to mind. They define the course of the rite and hint at symbolic connotations through biblical motifs evoked in readings and chants. But, as sources for significance, they pose two problems. How the rite ought to be performed is not the same as how it was actually practised,[42] and even if it was carried out by the book, the liturgy

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[40] See Hamilton, 'Desecration and Consecration in Norman Capua', 143–50; and Hamilton, *Sacred City*, 200–1.

[41] A good example of the possibilities and limits of such an effort can be seen in Ugo Facchini, 'I sermoni *In cena Domini* ed *In dedicatione ecclesiae* di san Pier Damiani. Esame della ritualità', *Benedictina* 54 (2008): 212–32.

[42] On this general scholarly challenge, see, for example, Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–20. Concerning dedication, see Hamilton, *Sacred City* and 'Les dangers du rituel', 159–88.

prescribed in the *ordines* is not the liturgy experienced by the participants. One part of the dedication was an inclusive and elaborate eight-day celebration with public processions and masses.[43] But much of the central activity, the anointings, the writing of the alphabet on the floor and so on, took place behind closed doors, involving only the bishop and his officiants.[44]

Other types of sources give a better sense of how the dedication was perceived, for example charters, chronicles and *vitae*.[45] This chapter focuses on the expositions in commentaries and sermons. First I examine a set of key motifs transmitted in early and high medieval texts, showing the meaning generally ascribed to the dedication. Secondly, I present three sermons that show the variation prompted by individual contexts and concerns.

Rite and Interpretation

Scholars of church dedication rituals stress the connection between contemporaneous liturgical rites, sermons and commentaries.[46] But sermons and commentaries are also connected to a prolific tradition of liturgical interpretations that serve not only to explain the liturgy, but also to mould Christian belief. They establish connections that reach backwards towards biblical origins and forwards towards eschatological fulfilment.

Early Christian and medieval liturgical interpretations hinged on allegorization. The platonically based pursuit of allegorical meaning occurs in the New Testament, but as a Christian interpretative strategy it was developed by Origen above all.[47] Origen's exegesis interpreted Old Testament books in

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[43] See Hamilton, 'To Consecrate the Church: Ecclesiastical Reform and the Dedication of Churches', in *Reforming the Church before Modernity: Patterns, Problems, and Approaches*, ed. C. Bellitto and L. Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 105–37, at 106–7 (early Middle Ages); Ruth Horie, *Perceptions of Ecclesia: Church and Soul in Medieval Dedication Sermons* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 10–12 (historically unspecific).

[44] Emphasized in Margrete Syrstad Andås, 'Art and Ritual in the Liminal Zone', in *The Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Constructions in their European Context*, ed. Margrete Syrstad Andås et al., Ritus et artes: Traditions and Transformations 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 47–126, at 59–60.

[45] For example, Michel Lauwers, 'Consécration d'églises, réforme et ecclésiologie monastique', in *Mises en scène*, ed. Méhu, 93–142, see also Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', in ibid., 15–48, at 40–44; Hamilton, *Sacred City* and 'Les dangers du rituel'.

[46] For example Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', 32.

[47] Especially Galatians 4: 21–26 on Hagar and Sarah as allegories of the two covenants. The classic work is Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans, 1998; first publ. in French 1959); more accessible are Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952 and later), 1–26; Daniel Boyarin, 'Origen as Theorist of Allegory: Alexandrian Contexts', in *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. R. Copeland and P.T. Struck (Cambridge: Cambridge University

the light of the New Testament and argued that these texts are imbued with spiritual meanings beyond the straightforward literal or historical ones. Thereby texts remote in time and tenor became potentially relevant for all ages. The spiritual meanings came to be structured in three categories: the allegorical meaning speaks of Christ and the Church, the tropological or moral meaning offers guidelines for the Christian's conduct and the anagogical meaning deals with the afterlife. Read in this light, next to their literal meaning, biblical texts contain messages for each believer concerning belief, behaviour and beatitude. The four-fold approach is related to typology: the idea that the Old Testament prefigures the New while the New Testament fulfils the promise of the Old.[48] Owing to Fathers such as Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory the Great the typological-allegorical understanding came to permeate the religious mindset up to and including Dante.

General Motifs

Commentaries and sermons are important vehicles of liturgical interpretation. Those concerned with the dedication tend to focus on the constituents of the Church, and from the Carolingian age such interpretations became crucial frameworks for ecclesiological reflection.[49] Many commentaries and sermons on the dedication therefore come across as doctrinal compendia.

Scholars tend usually to read such commentaries and sermons as on a par. This chapter suggests that, while thematically related and both concerned with the spiritual and moral ramifications of the rite, commentaries and sermons abide by very different generic conventions.[50] The liturgical commentary is a strictly literary genre.[51] Some commentaries on church dedication rites, such as the Carolingian *Quid significent duodecim candelae*, stay close to the liturgy.[52] Others, such as Honorius of Autun's (d. 1154) *Gemma Animae*, with its nuptial

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Press, 2010), 39–54; and Denys Turner, 'Allegory in Christian Late Antiquity', in ibid., 71–82.

48 Such as the crossing of the Red Sea as a type of Christ's Passion and the purging of sin in each individual baptism; Augustine, *De catechizandis rudibus*, 20.34: *Œvres de Saint Augustin 11/1: La première catéchèse, de catechizandis rudibus*, trans. Goulven Madec (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1991), 166–68.

49 Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', 28.

50 Exemplified in Eric J. del Giacco, 'A Comparison of Bede's Commentary and Homilies on Luke', *Medieval Sermon Studies* 50 (2006): 9–29.

51 Treatises such as Ambrose's *De sacramentis*, Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and Amalarius of Metz's commentaries, such as *Expositio Missae* and *Liber officialis*; for more examples see Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', 28–32; Iogna-Prat, *La maison dieu*, 285.

52 Published as *Tractatus de dedicatione ecclesiae* by Remigius of Auxerre in *PL* 131:845–66; an English translation appears in Repsher, *Rite of Church Dedication*.

vocabulary, are more independent.[53] By contrast, the sermon grows out of an oral situation.[54] Homiletic treatment of the dedication appears in sermons written for the annual feast of the dedication of the Jewish Temple, for the dedication of a church proper[55] and for the annual eight-day commemoration of the dedication instituted by Felix IV (526–30).[56]

It is true, however, that commentaries and sermons on the dedication share motifs. Both genres take their thematic cue from the dedication liturgy and, via four-fold interpretations, develop an array of themes whose spiritual connotations add further dimensions to the here and now of the rite.[57] The interpretations focus on fundamental doctrinal themes that are not particular to this rite. In the context of the dedication they are generally couched in a metaphorical vocabulary that favours architectural and spatial images as well as biblical references to building and building materials. A summary overview of key categories, motifs and biblical references will suffice:

Typology This category inscribes each community in salvation history. The church is associated with Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 7–8),[58] occasionally with a reference to the Temple as an inferior antecedent of the Church.[59] Sometimes an added typological dimension is offered through references to Moses' Tabernacle or to the description of the feast of the dedication of the Temple (John 10).[60] The typological tenor is augmented through allusions to Jacob's dream and its

53 *Gemma Animae* 1.150; *PL* 172:590. The allusion to the wedding between Christ and the Church is based on Eph. 5: 21–27; Lauwers, 'Consécration d'églises', 114.

54 See Beverly M. Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 89–124.

55 *OR* 40 prescribes a sermon after the triple procession with the relics.

56 Felix IV, *Epistula* 2, *PL* 65:16–21, including a full quotation of 1 Kings 8 on the Temple; see also Iogna-Prat, *La maison dieu*, 292; Repsher, *Rite of Church Dedication*, 20–21.

57 Finbarr C. Clancy, 'Augustine's Sermons for the Dedication of a Church', in *Papers Presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies*, ed. M.F. Wiles and E.J. Yarnold, Studia Patristica 38 (2001): 48–55, at 48–50.

58 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 18.48; or to the synagogue as inferior to the church, *Quid significent duodecim candelae*, 5. These are but representative texts; for additional examples, see, for the early Middle Ages, Hamilton, *Sacred City*; Repsher, *Rite of Church Dedication*; for the late Middle Ages, see Horie, *Perceptions of Ecclesia*.

59 Hilary of Poitiers, *De dedicatione ecclesiae*, *PL* 10:881–83; Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:247–8; *Homilia* 45, *PL* 94:434; Peter Damian, *Sermo* 72.9, *PL* 144:910.

60 For the Tabernacle, see Bede, *Homilia* 45, *PL* 94:434; Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, 2.45, *PL* 107:358–9; *Homilia* 39, *PL* 110:73–4. The reference to John appears in Isidore of Seville, *De origine officiorum* 36.1, *PL* 83:771, reiterated in Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 2.45, *PL* 107:358. See also Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:243–49; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* 3.24, *PL* 161:204. The twelve-year-old Jesus in the

epiphany, grasped in the statement 'This place is terrifying' (*locus iste terribilis est*, Gen. 28:17), cued by readings in the rite.

Christology (The 'Allegorical' Meaning) Allusions to the Christological implications of the dedication are complex and varied. They range from deliberations on Christ's passion and resurrection[61] to architectural images such as Christ as foundation (1 Cor. 3:11) and cornerstone (Ps. 117:22; Eph. 2:20–22).[62]

Ecclesiology (The 'Allegorical' Meaning) The fundamental association between church (building) and Church (community) is present already in Eusebius's (d. c. 340) presentation of the Constantinian surge of dedications.[63] This association is reinforced with references to 1 Peter 2:4–5 (the Christians as living stones) or to Matthew 16:18 (Peter as the rock on which Christ built his Church) and elaborated with masonic metaphors.[64] Ecclesiological motifs create relations between communities across time and space, including Jews and pagans.[65] Both the Christological and the ecclesiological motifs are often developed in association with allegorical interpretations of parts of the church building or other architectural allegories.[66]

The Christian (The 'Moral' Meaning) References to individual believers appear in the earliest expositions of the consecration.[67] The church is described

Temple (John 10: 24) is exploited allegorically in Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:244; Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia* 40, *PL* 110:74–75.

61 Augustine, *Sermo* 163.3, *PL* 38:890; *Sermo* 336.3–5, *PL* 38:1473–75; Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:244–45.

62 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10.4; Bede, *Homilia* 45, *PL* 94:436; Haymo of Halberstadt, *Homilia* 141, *PL* 118:746 (defined by Henri Barré as Haymo of Auxerre in *Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 61.

63 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10.3. See also Hilary of Poitiers, *De dedicatione ecclesiae*, *PL* 10:881; Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:248; *Homilia* 45, *PL* 94:434.

64 Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', 37.

65 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 18.48; Bede, *Homilia* 45, *PL* 94:434; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo* 14.23, *PL* 111:401; Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Exodum* 26, *PL* 164:318; Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis* II.5.1, *PL* 176:439. Another form of historization appears in claims that the command to build churches was Christ's requirement to his disciples; Lauwers, 'Consécration d'églises', 117–21.

66 Commentaries on Ezechiel, including his vision of the Temple; Bede's *De templo* and *De tabernaculo*; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo* 14; G. Turville-Petre, 'The Old Norse Homily on the Dedication', *Medieval Studies* 11 (1949):206–18, at 207.

67 Repsher, *Rite of Church Dedication*, 25 with reference to Ambrose's *Exhortatio ad virgines*, *PL* 16:380.

as being baptized into the universal Church in parallel with the baptism of the individual into the community.[68] Tropological or moral interpretations create links between the dedication and the Christian as God's temple (1 Cor. 3:16–17 and 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16)[69] and latch on to associations between the Lord's temple and Christ's body (John 2:21).[70] This theme is developed ecclesiologically in the idea that the Church consists of the community of individual temples of the Lord.[71]

Eschatology (The 'Anagogical' Meaning) The anagogical reading of the dedication turns towards beatitude. Authors emphasize the provisional character of the church building: what has been begun on earth will be completed in heaven.[72] The expositions stress the superiority of beatific immortality over earthly transience (1 Cor. 15:55–57) in representations of the heavenly abode which surpasses any earthly construction.[73]

The four-fold interpretation becomes a catalyst for expositions that position each church, community and believer within the Church and its comprehensive system of belief and which manifest the church building as the physical structure within which all of this is contained.

Three Sermons

These motifs are orchestrated in a variety of keys and degrees of sophistication. They are coloured by the theological mindset of individual authors, by the audience, as well as by institutional, social and textual conditions. The anti-arian Hilary of Poitiers (c. 300–c. 368) employs his dedication sermon to talk about the Trinity, while Augustine (354–430) uses one of his to propagate

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68 Ivo of Chartres, *Sermo* 4; Repsher, *Rite of Church Dedication*, 17.

69 Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10.4; Augustine, *Sermo* 163.1, *PL* 38:889; Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:244; Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia* 40, *PL* 110:75; Peter Damian, *Sermo* 72.11, *PL* 144:910. For associations of body and temple, see Harris, 'Body as Temple'.

70 Eric Palazzo, *Liturgies et société au moyen âge* (Paris: Aubier, 2000), 72.

71 Repsher, *Rite of Church Dedication*, 29–30.

72 Augustine, *Sermo* 336.1, *PL* 38:1473; *Sermo* 337, *PL* 38:1475–78, both arguing that believers, as houses of God, are built in this life and dedicated in the next; Hilary of Poitiers, *De dedicatione ecclesiae*, *PL* 10:884; Bede, *Homilia* 21, *PL* 94:245–46 and 248; *Homilia* 45, *PL* 94:434; Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia* 40, *PL* 110:75–76.

73 Augustine, *Sermo* 163.7–12, *PL* 38:892–95; Bernard of Clairvaux, *In dedicatione ecclesiae*, *sermo* 4.4–6: *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Gerhard Winkler et al., 10 vols. (Innsbruck: Tyrolia Verlag, 1997), 8:840–46; *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Jean Leclerq, Henri Rochais and Charles Talbot, 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), 5: 385–88.

his anti-pelagian programme.[74] The interpretations hover in a tension between their shared adherence to an interpretative tradition and their individual historical context.

The meaning of the dedication is taught in both commentaries and sermons. But sermons are driven by a more acute communicative compulsion.[75] Méhu distinguishes between sermons inserted in historical narratives and the polished works by named authors, but even the latter, I argue, maintain a connection with the preaching situation, however stylized.[76] In its written form the sermon is defined by literary conventions and even allusions to oral practice may belong to a carefully crafted literary strategy.[77] At the same time sermons address, at the very least, an implied audience and by turning to sermons we approach the interpretative community for whom each of these texts made particular sense. This is an approach which is interested in the reader-response anticipated or prompted in a text and the questions in the audience which the author sought to answer.[78] If we examine three sermons, one for the dedication proper, two for its annual commemoration, we shall see that while all are permeated by the four-fold interpretation, their juxtaposition illustrates how understandings of the dedication vary from one text to another.

The Stave Church Sermon

We begin with the latest sermon of the three. The so-called 'Stave church sermon', an Old Norse homily for the dedication, is transmitted in Old Norse and Icelandic manuscripts from around 1200 to 1220, but the material is probably older.[79] Possibly a model sermon whose architectural description is

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[74] Gert Partoens, 'Prédication, orthodoxie et liturgie', in *Prédication et liturgie au moyen âge*, ed. N. Bériou and F. Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 23–51, at 50.

[75] On medieval sermons, see B.M. Kienzle, ed., *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du moyen âges occidental 81–83 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000); and, briefer, Ann T. Thayer, 'The Medieval Sermon', in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources: Using Historical Sources to Discover Medieval Europe*, ed. J.T. Rosenthal (London: Routledge, 2012), 43–58.

[76] Méhu, '*Historiae et imagines*', 37.

[77] See, for example, Bernard McGinn, 'Introduction', in *Isaac of Stella: Sermons on the Christian Year*, trans. H. McCaffery (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1979), xvii; *Bernard of Clairvaux: Sermons for the Summer Season*, trans. B.M. Kienzle (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 4–6.

[78] Related to the idea of the *Erwartungshorisont* addressed in a text, see Hans Robert Jauss, 'Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft', in *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974), 144–207, esp. 183–89.

[79] I am grateful to Nils Holger Petersen for his reference to this sermon. In its complete form it has been transmitted in two Icelandic and one Old Norse manuscripts; Hans Bekker-Nielsen, 'The Old Norse Dedication Liturgy', in *Festschrift für Konstantin Reichardt*, ed. C.

sufficiently vague to apply generally,[80] this homily does not speak of the rite, but offers an allegorical interpretation of the church building.[81] As a catalogue of commonplaces it makes a useful point of departure.

The sermon begins with Solomon's Temple in a paraphrase of 1 Kings 8–9 and then turns to the present community: 'From these origins, churches and all the celebration of dedication days began. And since, dear brethren, we are holding the feast of dedication today, it is of first importance that we realize how great is the grace we receive in the church.'[82] The author stresses how the church building and the grace bestowed inside it frame the life of a human being: baptism, the Eucharist, human beings' reconciliation with God, prayers and, when sin is so grave that God's friendship is lost, confession, as well as, finally, the funeral.[83] The meaning is expounded in pedagogic vein, associating the Christian community with the hall of God (1 Cor. 6:19). First, the parts of the building are interpreted as an image of the different peoples who share the Christian faith; the Christians who are already with God (signified by the choir) and those still on earth (the nave). The altar is Christ, and the entry to the church is the right faith that leads believers into the Christian community. The floorboards are the humble: the more they are trodden on, the more they

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Gellinek with H. Zauchenberger (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1969), 127–34, at 127–28. An edition of the Old Norse text has been published as *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok*, ed. Gustav Indrebø (Oslo: Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1966; first publ. 1931). Turville-Petre's English translation is published in 'The Old Norse Homily', 206–18, at 215–18. The homily was previously dated to the early twelfth century, but recent research associates it with the beginning of the thirteenth century when preaching to lay people became a consolidated practice; Arnved Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief in Norse Society 1000–1350* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2009), 52–53. However, the earlier dating is maintained in Kirsten M. Berg, 'On the Use of Mnemonic Schemes in Sermon Composition: The *Old Norwegian Homily Book*', in *Constructing the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Roger Andersson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 221–36, at 232. On the commemoration of the dedication according to the Nidaros ordinal, see Andås, 'Art and Ritual', 60; on dedication in the Old Norse context see Andås, 'Imagery and Ritual', 85–91 and 119–22.

[80] Although Turville-Petre sees the absence of the commonplace reference to living stones as a pointer to the wooden construction typical of stave churches; 'Old Norse Homily', 209.

[81] Bekker-Nielsen, 'Old Norse Dedication Liturgy', 130. Influences can be traced from, among others, Richard of Saint-Victor's homilies on the dedication, Honorius of Autun's *Gemma Animae* and Hrabanus Maurus's *De universo*; *Gammelnorsk Homiliebok*, ed. Erik Gunnes, trans. Astrid Salvesen (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1971), 176; Turville-Petre, 'Old Norse Homily', 207–11.

[82] 'Old Norse Homily', 215; this part is influenced by Origen's *De tabernaculo*, in part transmitted via Bede's *De templo*; *Gammelnorsk Homiliebok*, 176.

[83] It is worth bearing in mind that also secular reconciliations could take place in the church; Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief*, 92; Andås, 'Imagery and Ritual', 151–55.

bear the weight of the Christians. The long walls are the pagans and the Jews, the cross wall at the West is Christ who unites them and the rood-screen the Holy Spirit by way of which one passes into heaven. The corner posts are the gospels and the roof an image of the believer who looks towards heaven.[84]

Midway through the sermon, the author shifts focus from Christianity at large to the individual Christian 'who verily makes himself the temple of the Holy Spirit by his good works. For every man shall fashion a spiritual church within himself, not with timbers or stones, but rather with good works.'[85] In *this* church the choir is prayer and psalms and the altar love, the cross walls are the love of neighbour (the outer wall) and of God (the inner). The entry into *this* church signifies control of the tongue. The corner posts are the key virtues: wisdom, justice, strength and temperance; the floorboards are humility and the roof is hope. The crucifixes are the burdens laid on our bodies in fasts and vigils. The sermon ends on an anagogical note: 'it is for this reason that we celebrate the feast of dedication annually on earth, that we may celebrate an eternal day of dedication, which is true rejoicing of all the saints in heaven.'[86] The road to this eternity goes by way partly of charity towards the neighbour: bemoan and punish them for their sins, help them in their needs; partly of tending to the souls of the dead with prayers.[87]

With a focus on the building the preacher has a material point of reference at hand: a physical anchoring of his instruction that aids memorization.[88] The architecture provides a spatial structure which sustains messages both about relations (Christ mediating between Jews and pagans as a cross wall between two long walls) and about movement (the entry into the church, that is, via faith into the community, or the progression from nave to choir, that is, from life to death) and which allows for a coherent doctrinal structure which embraces widely different components: communal and individual, historical and contemporary, material and spiritual.

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84 'Old Norse Homily', 216.

85 'Old Norse Homily', 216.

86 'Old Norse Homily', 217.

87 'Old Norse Homily', 218. In his three dedication homilies Richard of Saint-Victor presents an interpretation which resembles the 'Stave church sermon's' but has more theological finesse, including both the *imago Dei* and the five senses of the soul; *PL* 177:901–07; Hideki Nakamura, '*Talem vitam agamus, ut Dei lapides esse possimus*: Kirchweihpredigten Richards von Sankt Viktor', in *'Das Haus Gottes, das seid ihr selbst': Mittelalterliches und barockes Kirchenverständnis im Spiegel der Kirchweihe*, ed. R.M.W. Stammberger and C. Sticher (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 293–327.

88 Berg, 'On the Use of Mnemonic Schemes'. The homily comes across as an accessible counterpart to Hugh of Saint-Victor's ark of Noah; see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; first publ. 1990), 53–55.

The sermon rehearses standard motifs. It goes through allegorical, tropological and, albeit less elaborately, anagogical explications of the church. When searching for the specificities of this model sermon, we may notice, parenthetically, the striking difference between the preacher's anticipation of the community's intent focus on the architecture and the sagas' descriptions of the general coming and going during mass.[89] Putting aside whether it was listened to or not, the sermon stresses the role of the church in human life as the locus of baptism, confession and burial, and gives clear-cut directions concerning charity for the needy and prayers for the dead. The church is positioned at the centre of the community's life, embracing generations and social segments. The dedication ceremony is present only tacitly as the initiation of the relation between God and the congregation which is manifested in the church and which has a bearing on individual and familial life cycles as well as the daily conduct for which the listeners would expect guidelines.

Ivo of Chartres: Sermo 4*, De sacramentis dedicationis*

Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1115) was prior of the Abbey of Saint-Quentin (France) from 1069 to 1090 when he became bishop of Chartres. He was an influential author of texts on canon law, working under the auspices of Gregorian reform.[90] Ivo's *Sermo 4, De sacramentis dedicationis*, is written for a dedication proper.[91] This is not yet a familiar space, but the preacher invests it with a meaning that relates it to the believers, employing baptism as the central point of identification. The sermon is closely connected to the sacramental ponderings in the bishop's remaining oeuvre and to his reform agenda; as Louis Hamilton has demonstrated, the dedication feast is well suited to this end.[92] It is indicative of the sermon's doctrinal character that several of Ivo's points were taken over in Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De sacramentis*, including the dedication as the sacramental framework for all other sacraments.[93] This raises, again,

89 Nedkvitne, *Lay Belief*, 94–95.

90 For Ivo's biography, see Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–49; Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 133–36; Bruce C. Brasington, 'Lessons of Love: Bishop Ivo of Chartres as Teacher', in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. S.N. Vaughan and J. Rubenstein (Brepols: Turnhout, 2006), 129–47.

91 *PL* 162:527–35.

92 See above and Hamilton, *Sacred City*; Fassler, *Virgin of Chartres*, 136–40.

93 *De sacramentis* II.5.1, *PL* 176:439; Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 333–34; Hanns P. Neuheuser, 'Ritus und Theologie der Kirchweihe bei Hugo von St. Viktor', in *'Das Haus Gottes'*, 251–92, esp. 273–76.

the question of genre. Méhu argues that the most theoretical sermons on the dedication do not differ substantially from treatises.[94] But even with the flux in generic definitions in mind, an identification as *sermo* and its particular connotations are not to be lightly dismissed – no matter how theoretical the text. Ivo's sermon feeds rhetorically on the implied presence of an audience: a community who shares the view of the bishop knocking on the church door and partakes in the festivities. The sermon has a speech-act character that unites the community, the feast and the Scripture differently from a treatise.

Ivo addresses his audience directly: 'Since you have come devoutly to the dedication of this basilica today, it is necessary that you understand that what you see done to this saintly man-made [edifice] has all been fulfilled in you.'[95] His ample introduction reminds them that through baptism they have been made temples of the Lord, athletes of Christ, dedicated to a life-long combat against the devil. This sacramental association flavours the entire sermon which revolves around two powerful images. The first is the dedication as a mimesis of baptism: 'We circulate and asperse the church with water on the outside because when there cannot be a triple immersion [of the church] in the same way as of those baptized, it is necessary that there is a triple aspersion so that we can make it resemble the sacrament.'[96] The second is the entry of the bishop which is presented as a critical exorcistic moment. Bearing in mind Ivo's inclination for reform, it is unsurprising that he lingers over episcopal power: the bishop's admission into the church is described as a veritable conquest. Ivo ponders the 'Quis est iste rex gloriae?' (Who is this king of Glory?) of Psalm 24 which sounds from within the church when the bishop knocks after each circulation. The voice of the Psalm – and of the deacon from inside the church – is ascribed to the church itself. Before the bishop enters, the church is a type, Ivo states, of an ignorant people immersed in the darkness of faithlessness; they do not recognize the Petrine power bestowed by the Lord. But the bishop commands the demons and vices to open their doors. He enters the church and, prostrate on the floor, calls to God to sanctify the place. Associations between liturgy and dramaturgy are controversial, but it does seem that Ivo exploits the dramatic potential of the entry to the full.

Each ritual element is commented on and put in perspective by biblical references, some of which recur in readings and chants during the rite. After having zoomed in, as it were, on the church, Ivo employs the elements of the

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94 Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', 37.

95 'Quoniam ad dedicationem praesentis basilicae hodie devote convenistis, oportet ut quod in his sanctis manufactis fieri videtis, totum impletum esse in vobis cognoscatis.' *Sermo* 4, *PL* 162:527.

96 'Ista aqua ad quamdam baptismi imaginem gyrando ecclesiam tunc exterius aspergimus, quia ubi more baptizatorum non potest fieri trina mersio, necesse est ut qua possumus sacramenti similitudine trina fiat aspersio.' *Sermo* 4, *PL* 162:529.

dedication ceremony to open the view towards a wider doctrinal horizon. The symbolism is dense and knotted. The diagonal writing of the alphabets is associated with the first rudimentary version of sacred doctrine which reaches Jews and Gentiles. The episcopal staff used for writing signifies the salvation reaching to the ends of the world through the sacerdotal office.[97] The association of the alphabet with Jews and Gentiles is in tune with other interpretations, but it is in contrast to the 'Stave church sermon's' association of the people with the church walls.[98] This reminds us that while motifs are relatively stable, their interpretations are not schematic. Doctrinal motifs are accumulated in Ivo's homiletic compendium: salt and ashes are mixed just as divine insight must merge with faith in the Passion; water mixed with wine signifies Christ's double nature, and the aspersion of the inner walls shows that exterior appearances must be complemented by interior saintliness. The sevenfold aspersion of the altar is done with water and hyssop. Hyssop is a humble, purging herb; it signifies Christ's humility which cured human pride when he aspersed it with his blood. The bishop wipes the altar with linen; linen comes from the earth and is bleached with much labour: this is Christ's flesh emerging from earth, signifying the Virgin, and he who reached resurrection through suffering.[99]

After a rich and dense explanation the bishop reaches his anagogical conclusion with Psalm 29:12: 'You have turned for me my mourning into joy'. This makes for a dialectical juxtaposition of the mournful present life and the vision of peace. Lamentation, Ivo states, will be turned to joy when we are brought through to the fatherland from which we are now exiled. The feast establishes a link to this eternal joy: it is the delightful and festive dedication of God's man-made temple in its wedding clothes, and he will preserve this temple until the eternal dedication.[100]

Ivo of Chartres exploits the stock repertory of dedication themes: the community as living stones, the universal Church and each baptized member of it, the completion of the dedication in beatitude. But their exact form and organization are shaped by his preoccupation with episcopal power and his intent to make the audience see the dedication of this new church in relation to their baptism. This intent he shares, to some extent, with the Stave church preacher, but whereas the Old Norse text centres on life cycles and guidelines for behaviour, Ivo's focus rests on the divine purging imparted in the sacrament and mediated by the bishop; he addresses the sacramental and salvational coherence

97 *Sermo* 4, *PL* 162:530–31.

98 Whose interpretation in turn equals Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De sacramentis* II.5.1, *PL* 176:439.

99 *Sermo* 4, *PL* 162:534.

100 *Sermo* 4, *PL* 162:535.

between the Bible, the building and the doctrine, between the baptized and their church. We can only begin to surmise that these may have been issues that the audience was querying too.

Bernard of Clairvaux: In dedicatione ecclesiae, sermo 1

The Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) was a crusade preacher, church politician and prolific author. In his six sermons *In dedicatione ecclesiae*, completed after 1150, he writes, above all, as abbot. The commemoration of the dedication is one of the feasts for which the Cistercian manual *Ecclesiastica officia* prescribes that a sermon be delivered in the chapter, preferably by the abbot.[101] The audience was the Cistercian community at its most comprehensive, including lay brothers, guests and *familiares*.[102] Kienzle suggests that this retinue may have entailed straightforward, vernacular preaching.[103] But in the written version Bernard's dedication sermons are literary compositions which presumably circulated among audiences beyond Clairvaux.[104] Meyer considers the sermons to be a liturgical commentary on the rite.[105] But again it seems well-advised to maintain a distinction between sermon and commentary. The texts retain an association with the idea of the abbot preaching to a monastic community; for instance, Bernard appears to survey his audience, observing 'so many youngsters, so many adolescents, so many noblemen';[106] elsewhere he speaks of the mood in which the audience will leave having heard the sermon.[107] At the same time Bernard's dedication sermons form a coherent literary unit

[101] *Ecclesiastica officia* 67.5, *Les 'Ecclesiastica officia' cisterciens du XIIème siècle*, ed. D. Choisselet and P. Vernet (Reiningue: Abbaye d'Oelenberg, 1989), 190; Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Liturgical Dimension of Twelfth-Century Cistercian Preaching', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 335–49, at 336–39.

[102] Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Early Cistercian Experience of Liturgy', in *Rule and Life: An Interdisciplinary Symposium*, edited by M.B. Pennington (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 77–116 at 112nn107–8; *Cistercian Lay Brothers: Twelfth-Century Usages with Related Texts* ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 2000), 184, nn 2–4.

[103] B.M. Kienzle, 'The Twelfth-Century Monastic Sermon', in *The Sermon*, ed. Kienzle, 271–323, at 279n41; M.B. Bruun, 'Mapping the Monastery: Hélinand of Froidmont's Second Sermon for Palm Sunday', in *Prédication et liturgie au moyen âge*, ed. Bériou and Morenzoni, 183–99, at 187–90.

[104] Méhu, '*Historiae* et *imagines*', 35.

[105] Meyer, *Medieval Allegory*, 91.

[106] '... tot iuvenes, tot adolescents, tot nobiles ...', *In ded., sermo* 1.2, *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8: 812; *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclercq, 5: 371.

[107] *In ded.*, *sermo* 5.2: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8: 848; *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 5: 389.

with conscious development of motifs and escalating density.[108] They are permeated by the allegorical dynamic and carefully crafted rhetoric typical of the abbot and thereby linked to the remainder of Bernard's work as much as to other dedication texts.[109]

Like Ivo of Chartres and the Stave church preacher Bernard begins by approaching his audience, but the abbot addresses a 'we' that is considered as a group apart from the Church at large: 'Today's feast, brothers, must for us be so much more worthy of devotion, as it is more related to us. For we have the other saints' feast in common with the other churches, but this one is our own since it is celebrated by no one but us.'[110] Then the abbot introduces one of his main themes: the relation between the building, each monk's body, and the soul which God beatifies on earth and sanctifies in heaven.[111] Bernard rehearses the motif of the individual believer as the Lord's temple, but he dwells upon the corporeal aspect, speaking about the wonder which takes place when men decide to estrange themselves from gluttony, drunkenness and lasciviousness for the rest of their lives. He speaks in the language of Exodus about their individual paths: each knows the wonder that brought him to leave Egypt and traverse the desert of renunciation. The perspective is exclusively monastic.

The monks' conversion stories prove that the Holy Spirit inhabits their bodies. They have been dedicated to the Lord; not only those who were present at the consecration, but 'anybody who does service for God in this place to the end of time'.[112] With this prelude the abbot reaches his Christological peak:

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[108] On the relation between oral markers and literary style see the positions of Jean Leclercq, 'Les sermons sur les cantiques ont-ils été prononcés?', in *Recueil d'études sur S. Bernard et ses écrits*, 3 vols. (Rome: Storia et Letteratura, 1962), 2: 193–212, esp. 199–200, summarized in his introduction to *Bernard of Clairvaux: Sermons on the Song of Songs II*, trans. K. Walsh (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1983), vii–xxx; Christopher Holdsworth, 'Were the Sermons of Bernard on the Song of Songs ever Preached?', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Meussig, 295–318, esp. 308–11; and Wim Verbaal, 'Réalités quotidiennes et fiction littéraire dans les *Sermons sur le Cantique* de Bernard de Clairvaux', *Cîteaux* 51 (2000): 201–18.

[109] This is against Horie's view that Bernard 'allows his thoughts to flow freely'; Horie, *Perceptions of Ecclesia*, 31.

[110] 'Festivitas hodierna, fratres, tanto nobis debet esse devotior, quanto familiarior est. Nam ceteras quidem Sanctorum sollemnitates cum ecclesiis aliis habemus communes; haec vero sic nobis est propria, ut necesse sit, vel a nobis eam, vel a nemine celebrari. Nostra est, quia de ecclesia nostra, magis autem nostra est, quia de nobis ipsis.' *In ded.*, *sermo* 1.1: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8:811 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 5:370).

[111] *In ded.*, *sermo* 1.1: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8:810 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 5:369); see also Harris, 'Body as Temple', 248–49.

[112] '… quicumque usque in finem saeculi Domino sunt in hoc loco militaturi.' *In ded.*, *sermo* 1.3: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8:814 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 5:372). The second Clairvaux was built in 1135 and some members of the audience may have

'Thus in us must be carried out spiritually what earlier happened visibly on the walls. And that, if you want to know, is aspersion, inscription, unction, illumination and benediction. This have the bishops carried out visibly in this house; this Christ [...] carries out invisibly in us each day.'[113] We recognize the association of the ritual action and the interior work of grace from Ivo's sermon, but instead of speaking of the work of grace in association with baptism, the abbot describes it as an ongoing process. Bernard elaborates each element: the purging is brought about by the hyssop of humility, the aspersion by the tears of confession and the water from Christ's side wound, the source of love. For both Ivo and Bernard hyssop signifies humility. But while Ivo associated the herb with Christ, Bernard links it to the humility demanded of monks. Bernard's notion of humility is related to Christ's example but has its particular place in the monastic mindset, revolving around the Rule of Benedict's twelve steps of humility. The diagonal alphabets signify the law written not in stone, but in hearts, with God's exorcizing finger. Once again we see that motifs resonate, but in other tonalities.

Across the next five sermons Bernard traces a grand loop, intertwining the threads of the three spiritual modes of interpretation. He moves via the soul as God's lodging, a soldier's tent (*sermo* 2) and a walled camp attacked by enemies (*sermo* 3), to the ascent to the peace of beatitude (*sermo* 4) and the recognition of the darkness of sin and the light of hope (*sermo* 5) before he brings his elaboration to a safe landing in the present:

> For us this dedication of our house is a family celebration, even more familial, however, is the dedication of ourselves. Ours was that aspersion, ours that benediction and ours that consecration, which was carried out by the holy hands of the bishop, and which, with the anniversary recurring today, is called to memory through solemn praises.[114]

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remembered its dedication; Thomas Coomans, 'Cistercian Architecture or Architecture of the Cistercians?', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, ed. Mette Birkedal Bruun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 151–69, at 157.

113 'In nobis proinde spiritualiter impleri necesse est, quae in parietibus visibiliter praecesserunt. Et si vultis scire, haec utique sunt: aspersio, inscriptio, inunctio, illuminatio, benedictio. Haec quidem in hac visibili domo fecere pontifices; haec Christus [...] invisibiliter quotidie operatur in nobis.' *In ded.*, *sermo* 1.4: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8:814 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 5:372).

114 'Domestica nobis celebritas dedicatio domus nostrae, magis autem domestica nostra ipsorum dedicatio est. Nostra siquidem illa aspersio, nostra illa benedictio, nostra consecratio fuit, quae per manus sanctorum celebrata Pontificum, etiam hodie anniversario reditu votivis laudibus ad memoriam revocatur.' *In ded.*, *sermo* 6.1: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 8:862 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 5:396).

Bernard takes his point of departure from the material world. References to the building recur throughout, but he also lingers over each monk's individual combat with vice. His is a metaphorical construction: what the bishop does in the dedication resembles Christ's actions in the soul. In order for the metaphor to function, one part must make immediate sense; the dedication must connote an event at which things are done to the building.[115] The association between the building and the soul is not unique to Bernard.[116] However, in his portrayal of the things done to the building and to the soul Bernard evokes his basic interpretative principle: the development from an understanding *in carne* (according to the flesh) to an understanding *in spiritu* (according to the spirit).[117] Envisioning the dedication will help his audience understand the ineffable workings of Christ in their own souls. From this basis the abbot proceeds into a dense elaboration of typically Bernardine themes. The dedication is the point of departure, but it seems that, for author and audience, the real interest rests less with the interpretation of the dedication than with the dedication as a cognitive tool for the understanding of how Christ works in each monk as he proceeds towards beatitude. We recognize key dedication motifs, but the tone is distinctly Bernardine.

Conclusions

What did the dedication signify to medieval people? Which texts are we to turn to if we want to find out? A reading across commentaries and sermons shows dominant motifs. But if we want to gain the slightest idea – and slight it is – of the audience's understanding, one way is to turn to specific texts and the queries they address. In this respect, sermons are arguably more suggestive than commentaries, owing to their communicative obligation to a specific audience. No matter how literary or how theoretical, sermons speak to a particular

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[115] Hamilton suggests a similar interpretation for Bruno of Segni's comparison of the crowds gathering for dedication to the crowds in Noah's ark: the comparison only works if crowds did in fact gather; *Sacred City*, 61.

[116] It echoes Augustine's 'Quod hic factum corporaliter videmus in parietibus, spiritualiter fiat in mentibus', *Sermo* 336, *PL* 38:1475, and reappears in Hugh of Saint-Victor's *De sacramentis* II.5.1, *PL* 176:439.

[117] For example *Super cantica canticorum*, *sermo* 6.3: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 5:102 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 1:27); *In Adventu*, *sermo* 1.10: *Bernhard*, ed. Winkler, 7:72–73 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. Leclerq, 4:168–69); Denis Farkasfalvy, 'Use and Interpretation of St John's Prologue in the Writings of Saint Bernard', *Analecta cisterciensia* 35 (1979): 205–66; M.B. Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought: Broken Dreams* (Leiden: Brill, 1994); M.B. Bruun, *Parables: Bernard of Clairvaux's Mapping of Spiritual Topography* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 37–39 and 283–85.

interpretative community. The contours of such communities, however vague, begin to appear when we examine the ways in which particular authors shaped stock motifs and made them relevant in a given context – even when this was not done as explicitly as in Bernard of Clairvaux's 'Ours was that aspersion, ours that benediction, ours that consecration …'.

The dedication consecrates the church as a place that is holy and in which one encounters the holy. Interpretations of the rite reflect on the life and faith framed by the building. These interpretations are often rooted in the four-fold method of interpreting scripture. They tend to be all-inclusive, comprehending, albeit rudimentarily, ecclesiology, Christology and eschatology as well as the belief and conduct of the community and its individual members. Interpretations tend to reproduce an overarching set of motifs, even as diversity abounds. Genre is key. Therefore dedication commentaries and sermons must be considered not only within the semantic universe established by the rite, but also within their individual conceptual worlds, emerging against the backdrop of generic conventions, communities of interpretation and authorial perspectives.

Reflections

If ritual matters to history, then differences and nuances in ritual also matter. The more generic our understanding of the ritual is, the more generic our conclusions about its import will be: in the example of the dedication rite, that it marked communal identity and power and conveyed particular typological structures. The more precise our understanding of the ritual employed, the more subtle our analysis of its significance can become. If we can analyse precise rituals and how they were practised and perceived, then we can, in turn, discern the interpretive communities that they address and the subcommunities of antipathy and amity that they establish. Ideally, we can see how ritual generates, not simply reflects, power. It is no surprise that bishops wished to mark themselves and their actions as politically and soteriologically powerful. What is more interesting, and more difficult, is to understand how these efforts were received as that tells us about both the resistance to, and the generation of, power.

New methods are needed to coordinate the multiple sources and varieties of evidence that enable multivocal readings of a liturgy and to trace the changing significances of a space and a practice over time. One promising area of development is the growing interest in the possibilities of geographic information systems (GIS) as a tool for historical analysis. GIS enables us to locate multiple forms of evidence (visual and textual) at a precise latitude and longitude. That permits the analysis of the historical evidence in its geographic context on a map. With such tools one can analyse how the larger built environment, either within a church, city or landscape, and the multiple levels of meaning it signified to contemporaries, helped shape

the local significances of specific liturgical events. While modern historians have begun to exploit these tools, medievalists have yet to fully embrace them.[118] The closest efforts so far by medievalists that we know of, is the work being done on medieval Chester.[119]

This method is particularly helpful to capture the allegorical approach to space as it enables the coordinated analysis of texts and objects within a landscape, what Mette Bruun has called, 'the textual representation of topography'.[120] Sermons for the dedication and its annual commemoration create a form of palimpsest. They map a spiritual topography onto the physical topography of the church and its surroundings, elaborating on the topographical allusions of the rite. This spiritual topography encompasses Old Testament locales such as Solomon's Temple and the *terribilis locus* where Jacob encountered God as well as the eternal heavenly homeland. We cannot know how this palimpsestic speech-act was conceived by the participants. The medieval allegorical climate was such that the association between a particular church and its specific political context and location on the one hand and the celestial beatitude on the other would not seem foreign. But individual perceptions must be surmised from reactions: be they the violent resistance

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[118] See Louis I. Hamilton, 'The Rituals of Renaissance: Liturgy and Mythic History in *The Marvels of Rome*', in *Rome Re-Imagined: Twelfth-Century Jews, Christians, and Muslims Encounter the Eternal City*, ed. Louis I. Hamilton and Stefano Riccioni (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 417–38; Hamilton, 'Virtual Cities: GIS as a Tool for the Analysis of Dante's *Commedia*', *Pedagogy: Critical Approaches to Teaching Literature, Language, Composition, and Culture* 13, no. 1 (2013): 115–24. While archaeologists have been earlier adaptors of GIS, the application of this tool to the analysis of texts and images by medievalists has been slow. See the proposed application of digital technologies to liturgical sources, including a mention of GIS possibilities, in James Cummings, 'Liturgy, Drama, and the Archive: Three Conversions from Legacy Formats to TEI XML', *Digital Medievalist* 1 (2006), at http://www.digitalmedievalist.org/journal/2.1/cummings/ at §41 (accessed 1 March 2013). Textual representation of topography proposed is much broader than the digital study of medieval maps, per se; on the latter see the important work of Martin K. Foys and Shannon Bradshaw, 'Developing Digital Mappaemundi: An Agile Mode for Annotating Medieval Maps', *Digital Medievalist* 7 (2011), at www.digitalmedievalist.org/journal/7/foys/ (accessed 1 March 2013). On the field of historical GIS and its possibilities as explored by modern historians, see Jordi Martí-Henneberg, 'Geographical Information Systems and the Study of History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42 (2011): 1–13; David Cooper and Ian N. Gregory, 'Mapping the English Lake District: A Literary GIS', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36 (2011): 89–108; Donald A. DeBats and Ian N. Gregory, 'Introduction to Historical GIS and the Study of Urban History', *Social Science History* 35 (2011): 455–63.

[119] Catherine Clarke et al., 'Mapping Medieval Chester', at http://www.medievalchester.ac.uk/about/mappings.html (accessed 1 March 2013).

[120] See Bruun, *Parables*, 19–24.

against episcopal authority or the more peaceful responses anticipated or evoked by sermons.

The consecration of a church drew its possible meanings from a broad range of local and pan-European sources. When we work with the dedication rite, we must make an effort to coordinate those sources – and to do so with an acute consciousness of the range of information which may be gathered from each particular source. Only thus can we counter the risk of confusing one asserted meaning for the totality of its significances, or the significance imparted to any given viewer.

Chapter 9

Architecture as Evidence for Liturgical Performance

Carolyn Marino Malone

Customaries and ordinals can be used as evidence for clarifying the function of medieval churches, but architecture, in turn, can augment our understanding of the liturgy outlined in these laconic texts and, in conjunction with them, can provide evidence for liturgical performance. On the basis of the routes of processions indicated in these texts, this chapter attempts in two case studies to visualize particular liturgical moments by identifying the architectural sites for singing specific chants. The first case study analyses the processions for the feasts of the Purification of the Virgin and Palm Sunday in the eleventh-century abbey of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon, France. The second concentrates on the Palm Sunday procession in front of the thirteenth-century facade of the church of secular canons of St Andrew in Wells, England.[1]

Saint-Bénigne in Dijon

Saint-Bénigne's basilica and its eastern rotunda were begun in 1001; the basilica was consecrated to St Bénigne in 1016, and its attached three-storeyed rotunda was dedicated to the Virgin and All the Martyrs in 1018.[2] Although only the crypt of Saint-Bénigne's chevet and rotunda survive, the unusual design of the rotunda is known from plans and drawings, made between 1719 and 1722 by Dom Urbain Plancher; the reliability of this visual record of the early eleventh-century arrangement is supported by a detailed description of the building in the chronicle of Saint-Bénigne, written between 1058 and 1065 (Figures 9.1,

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1 I dedicate this chapter to my son, Jesse David Kramer, for his 29th birthday, and I thank Helen Gittos for her helpful comments on it. I have written monographs on both of these buildings: see Carolyn Marino Malone, *Façade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Malone, *Saint-Bénigne et sa rotonde. Archéologie d'une église bourguignonne de l'an mil* (Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2008); Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon en l'an mil, totius Galliae basilicis mirabilior: Interprétation politique, liturgique et théologique*, Disciplina monastica 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009). Additional photographs of Saint-Bénigne can be found at the following website: Saint-Bénigne et sa rotonde, http://rcf.usc.edu/~cmalone.

2 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 32–34; Malone, *Saint-Bénigne et sa rotonde*, 11–12.

9.2, 9.3).[3] Reconstruction of the basilica is based on the chronicle's description and excavations conducted between 1976 and 1978 and in 2003 (Figure 9.4).[4]

Saint-Bénigne's Customaries

Saint-Bénigne was an independent Benedictine monastery, but its abbot, William, had been trained in the monastery of Cluny by Abbot Mayeul, who sent him to reform the Dijon abbey in 989. Abbot William's interest in liturgical chant is well documented,[5] and he must have thought about how the new church would be used liturgically when it was designed in 1001.[6] Saint-Bénigne's three successive customaries provide evidence about the liturgy practised in this church which survived with only a few modifications until the end of the thirteenth century. The first customary was written at the beginning of the eleventh century, the second towards the end of that century, and the third at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.[7] Although all three customaries are based on Cluniac practice, they each include modifications specific to Saint-Bénigne. Nonetheless, the degree to which they describe the liturgy of Saint-Bénigne, as practised in the early

3 Dom Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de la Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Dijon: De Fay, 1739–48, repr. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1968), 1:489–99. The eleventh-century basilica was replaced by the existing Gothic church in 1271, but St Bénigne's tomb, the hemicycle of the basilica and the rotunda with its axial chapel were preserved to the east of this later church until 1792. Between 1843 and 1900 St Bénigne's tomb and the crypt of the rotunda with its axial chapel were excavated and reconstructed

4 Andrew Martindale, 'The Romanesque Church of S. Bénigne at Dijon and Ms. 591 in the Bibliothèque Municipale', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 25 (1962): 21–54, at 47, edited the chronicle's description of the church and the rotunda. For the Latin text and a French translation of this edition by Jacques Ménard, see Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 287–93. For the excavation of the basilica and St Bénigne's tomb, see Carolyn Marino Malone, 'Les fouilles de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (1976–1978) et le problème de l'église de l'an mil', *Bulletin monumental* 138 (1980): 253–84; Malone, *Saint-Bénigne et sa rotonde*, 13, 44–69, 121–28, 156–60. For an archaeological study of the lower storey of the axial chapel of the rotunda and also St Bénigne's tomb see Christian Sapin and Carolyn Marino Malone, 'Oratoire Est', in *Rapport préliminaire sur les recherches archéologiques conduites dans la crypte de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon en août 2003*, ed. Christian Sapin, submitted 2005 to the Service Archéologique de Dijon, 49–58.

5 Rodulfus Glaber, *Vita Domni Willelmi Abbatis*, ed. Neithard Bulst and John France, trans. John France and Paul Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 81–82, 166–67, 288; Ruth Steiner, 'Marian Antiphons at Cluny and Lewes', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 175–204, at 183, 198–202.

6 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 80; Glaber, *Vita*, 266–68.

7 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 171–77.

eleventh-century church, must be addressed before using them as evidence to identify specific architectural sites and chants sung during processions.

Saint-Bénigne's first customary (Paris, BnF, Ms. latin 4339 (fols. 77v–88r), which Kassius Hallinger called B[2], probably dates from the early eleventh century.[8] It is part of the earliest group of manuscripts describing Cluniac liturgy, the *Consuetudines antiquiores*. Yet none of the monasteries owning these texts, written in the late tenth or early eleventh century, were controlled by Cluny.[9] Kassius Hallinger believed that the *Consuetudines antiquiores* were produced by Cluny for Cluny, a view that prevailed until Isabelle Cochelin pointed out that Cluniac sources never mention their existence; she considers them to be inspirational texts made for powerful non-Cluniac houses wishing to 'measure themselves against Cluny'.[10] Still, she concludes that the first customary of Saint-Bénigne was much 'reworked to fit Saint-Bénigne's reality' and played an integral role in the life of its monastery because it records modifications intended for Dijon, such as those for the Palm Sunday procession to be discussed later.[11] According to Jeremiah Brady, this customary, which he edited a few years before Hallinger, differs from others in the group not only in

> addition, omission, and contradiction, but even in the use of a flowery and idiomatic Latin in contrast to the terse and paratactic style characteristic of the part that is common to all three versions … The Dijon version emerged not so much as blood-brother or even a first cousin to the others, with only the minor differences and accommodations to be expected in the transmission of a text of this sort, but rather as an individual work drawn to some extent from common material.[12]

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8 *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta. Introductiones*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, CCM 7.1 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1984), 101–4; Jeremiah D. Brady, 'Review of *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)* by Neithard Bulst', *Speculum* 52 (1977): 355–59, at 352. Brady dated this customary during the lifetime of Abbot William because of its similarities to William's foundation charter for Fruttuaria.

9 *Consuetudinum saeculi*, 119–26.

10 Isabelle Cochelin, 'Customaries as Inspirational Sources', in *Constitutiones et regulae: Sources for Monastic Life in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, ed. Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines, Disciplina monastica 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 27–55.

11 Ibid., 51.

12 Jeremiah D. Brady, 'Critical Edition of the Earliest Monastic Customary of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 4339)', PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972, 66–68. He compared it to related texts (as edited by Bruno Albers) B and C of Saint-André de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Barberini latinus 477, fols. 110v–123v, 130r–147v) and B[1] from Nonantola (Rome: Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 54, fols. 14r–21v).

Moreover, the Dijon customary includes a reference to Saint-Bénigne's abbot and the unusual command for Holy Saturday that 'on the order of Abbot William, they should not eat eggs'.[13] This interdiction is related to Cluniac restrictions on fast days but is not found elsewhere in the *Consuetudines antiquiores*. The redactor thus emphasized the rigour with which William observed restrictions on Holy Saturday.

Hallinger and the editors of the *Consuetudines antiquiores* considered that Abbot William himself transformed this Cluniac text for Saint-Bénigne.[14] Cochelin considers this to be possible because the text no doubt dates from before Abbot William's death in 1031, but she disagrees with the related hypothesis that William brought a text with him from Cluny and instead proposes an oral transmission of the customs.[15] Still, she questions whether it can be considered a normative customary because she doubts that the monks considered it as a list of required regulations. Given that it is included in a manuscript containing the Rule of St Benedict and the necrology of the abbey, it had been suggested that it was used as a *texte de référence* for the resolution of conflicts – to be kept in the chapter house where the affairs of the community were discussed daily.[16] Although numerous spaces were left blank, probably with the intention to fill them in later with local customs alongside those from Cluny,[17] Cochelin finds that, if the manuscript had been used frequently as a normative text by the senior monks, it is strange that the spaces were not filled in to give the text greater authority. Moreover, because the hand that started the customary added elementary glosses to the Rule of St Benedict in the manuscript, such as synonyms for words and etymological explanations of simple concepts such as *monachus* and *abbas*, she suggests that the customary was created to help adult converts, which she believes was the purpose for the late eleventh-century

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13 *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores cum redactionibus derivatis*, ed. Kassius Hallinger, Maria Wegener and Candida Elvert, CCM 7.2 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1983), 92 line 26: Secundum iussionem abbatis VV<illihalmi>nec oues comedant; Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 212–13. This is the only reference to William in Saint-Bénigne's first or later customaries.

14 *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 198 line 26.

15 Cochelin, 'Customaries', 52n121.

16 Ibid., 52. Jean-Loup Lemaître, '"*Liber capituli.*" Le livre du chapitre, des origines au XVIe siècle, l'exemple français', in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugnisswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1984), 625–48, at 626–27.

17 Cochelin, 'Customaries', 51; see, for instance, *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 129 lines 17–19 for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross B^2; the first customary leaves blank the hymn, verse and antiphon (indicated by stars) whereas B^1 from Nonantola (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 54, fols. 14r–21v) cites *Vexilla regis, Salua nos Christe*, and *Super Omnia*.

Cluniac customary of Bernard of Cluny.[18] Under the abbacy of William, Saint-Bénigne had an influx of adult converts speaking various mother tongues, and Cochelin reasons that this text could have served as a common Latin reference for explaining otherwise oral customs.[19]

For these reasons, the first customary is likely to indicate the liturgy that was performed at Saint-Bénigne. In fact, its writer acknowledges practising these customs when, on a few folios, he uses the first person plural, 'we do this' and 'we do not do that', a feature that is absent from the other versions of the *Consuetudines antiquiores*.[20] Sometimes he supplies information not found in the other texts; for example, he alone gives the following information for the Christmas Vigil: 'When light appears, the guardian sounds the bell, and we go to sing Prime. Then we say *Miserere mei deus* for the dead …'.[21] This habitual monastic practice of bell ringing at daybreak was probably implicit for the other monasteries owning texts of the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, but its inclusion shows that the writer of the Saint-Bénigne text was recording what he knew about his monastery's customs. As will be pointed out later, sometimes additions, such as the chant *Venit lumen*, which is not found elsewhere in the *Consuetudines antiquiores* or in any other Cluniac text for the feast of the Presentation in the Temple, seem to have been unique to Saint-Bénigne at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Saint-Bénigne's second customary, probably written between 1086 and 1092, was also used in the early eleventh-century church because it is anterior to the fire of 1137 and the subsequent addition of a new west portal. Unfortunately, it has not survived, except for extracts made during the seventeenth century by Hugues Lanthenas and Edmond Martène. Lanthenas copied several chapters from the original manuscript then in Saint-Bénigne's library in preparation for the *Acta sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, edited by Jean Luc d'Achery and Jean Mabillon.[22] Unfortunately Lanthenas often copied only the beginning and end of a chapter. More numerous extracts were made by Dom Edmond Martène

18 Cochelin, 'Customaries', 52.

19 Ibid., 52n125; Glaber, *Vita*, 280–81.

20 Cochelin, 'Customaries', 50n116.

21 *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 26: 'Cum autem apparuerit lux, sonet custus signum et ambulamus Primam cantare. Post haec dicimus Miserere mei deus pro defunctis …'.

22 For Lanthenas' copies see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Collection de Bourgogne, t. 11, fols. 83r–100r, 128r–138v and 171r–172v; some of these were published and translated by Carol Heitz, 'Lumières anciennes et nouvelles sur Saint-Bénigne de Dijon', in *Du VIIIe au XIe siècles: Edifices monastiques et culte en Lorraine et en Bourgogne*, ed. Carol Heitz and François Héber-Suffrin, Université de Paris-Nanterre, Centre de recherches sur l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen âge, Cahier 2 (Nanterre: Imprimerie de l'Université de Paris X, 1977), 63–106. Lanthenas' list of the second customary's seventy-three chapters

and are dispersed, according to feast day, throughout his collection of monastic customs.[23] This second customary was probably commissioned by Abbot Jarenton (1077–1113), who undertook a new reform of Saint-Bénigne in 1077 when he brought to Dijon eight monks from Cluny, one of whom, probably named Jobert, became prior.[24] This customary and innovations in the customs have been attributed to Laurent de Liège, one of the monks from Saint-Vanne de Verdun who took refuge at Saint-Bénigne in 1085 and then served as claustral prior for seven years.[25]

Hallinger mentioned Saint-Bénigne's second customary as a probable copy, somewhat modified for its site, of the no-longer-extant first version of Bernard of Cluny's customary, which predated that available in Herrgott's eighteenth-century edition.[26] Cochelin strengthened this identification by comparing the order and content of the chapter titles of Saint-Bénigne's second customary to a similar copy of Bernard's customs.[27] As with the first customary of Saint-

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was published by Louis Chomton, *Histoire de l'église de S. Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon: Jobard, 1900), 346–47.

[23] Edmond Martène, ed., *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, 2nd edn., 4 vols. (Antwerp: Johannis Baptistae de la Bry, 1736–38; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969). This edition as well as the first, dating from 1690, can be found on Google Books. For a discussion of the *Divionenses S. Benigni consuetudines* used by Martène see Aimé-Georges Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène: Etude codicologique*, Studi e Testi 279 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1978), 102–3.

[24] *Chartes et documents de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, prieurés et dépendances des origines à 1300*, ed. Georges Chevrier and Maurice Chaume, Analecta Burgundica, 2 vols. (Dijon: Bernigaud and Privat, 1943), 2:253.

[25] Ibid., 2:254. Chevrier and Chaume cite Laurentius of Leodio, *Gesta Virdunensium Episcoporum* in *PL* 204:919A–970D, at 967A: 'he removed or modified many of the superfluous traditions that he found there and added others more worthy' ('multa superfluae traditionis ibi inventa delevit vel mutavit, aliaque superinseruit honestiora'); H.R. Philippeau, 'Pour l'histoire de la coutume de Cluny', *Revue Mabillon* 44 (1954): 141–52.

[26] Kassius Hallinger, 'Klunys Bräuche zur Zeit Hugos des Grossen (1049–1109). Prolegomena zur Neuherausgabe des Bernhard und Udalrich von Kluny', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: kanonistische Abteilung* 45 (1959): 99–140, at 103; Bernard of Cluny, 'Ordo cluniacensis', in *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. Marquard Herrgott (Paris: Osmont, 1726), reproduced by Pius Engelbert (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1999), 134–364.

[27] Cochelin, 'Customaries', 41n72; Cochelin, 'Appendix: The Relation between the Last Cluniac Customaries, *Udal* and *Bern*', in *Constitutiones et Regulae: Monastic and Regular Life in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*, ed. Carolyn Marino Malone and Clark Maines, Disciplina monastica 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 56, 70–72. The similar manuscript is from Monreale: Palermo, Biblioteca central FM 7. She dates the first redaction of Bernard of Cluny's customs to around 1080 and believes that they were probably written at Cluny for Cluny. See also Cochelin, 'Evolution des coutumiers monastiques dessinée à

Bénigne, adjustments were made to Cluniac practices in the second. Because the infirmary chapel in Dijon was consecrated to Benedict instead of to Mary as at Cluny, 'ecclesiam Sancti Benedicti' was substituted for 'ecclesia Sanctae Mariae', as in the case of the death of a monk.[28] In the event of an urgent necessity, the relics were to be carried to the limits of the cemetery and not to the walls of the monastery, as at Cluny.[29] The veneration of the tomb of St Bénigne is added to the Sunday procession.[30] But most importantly, only the second customary contains a list locating the altars of Saint-Bénigne which is also found in the chronicle of Saint-Bénigne written about thirty years earlier.[31]

Although more detailed, Saint-Bénigne's third customary closely resembles the abbey's earlier customaries. It was probably written between 1170 and 1215, thus, after the addition of the west portal but before the destruction of the eleventh-century basilica in 1287.[32] Just as Saint-Bénigne's second customary was an adaptation of the first version of Bernard of Cluny's customary, so Saint-Bénigne's third customary was an adaptation of his second version, published by Herrgott. One of many examples that distinguish it from Bernard's second customary is the veneration of the tomb of St Bénigne during the Sunday procession; this is also found in Saint-Bénigne's second customary, but the third adds further information about when the tomb was not to be visited, as on Palm Sunday.[33] By comparing the second and third customaries, Guy de Valous concluded that Saint-Bénigne conserved its customs practically without interruption or great change during the Middle Ages.[34]

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partir de l'étude de Bernard', in *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, ed. Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, Disciplina monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 29–66, at 54.

[28] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 40, 294 line 37; Martène, *De antiquis*, vol. 4, book 5, col. 734–40; *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, CCM 10, ed. Petrus Dinter (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1980), 10: 205; Bernard of Cluny, 'Ordo', 262.

[29] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 25; Bernard of Cluny, 'Ordo', 251.

[30] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 206, 215; Martène, *De antiquis*, vol. 4, book 2, col. 140.

[31] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 294–95, for Jacques Ménard's French translation of the second customary which is based on the transcription of the Latin made by Heitz, 'Lumières', 77.

[32] Chomton, *Histoire*, 338–41, edited and published its recension in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscript (Dijon, Archives de la Côte d'Or, 1H72). According to Brady, 'Critical Edition', 91n3, an older copy is conserved in Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine H. 449. The customary is dated before 1215, because it includes the elevation of the host after consecration.

[33] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 206, 215; Chomton, *Histoire*, 100–1, 363–64 and 403. See also details about churches visited in Dijon below n. 59.

[34] Guy de Valous, 'L'*ordo monasterii sancti Benigni*. Fragments d'un coutumier clunisien du XIe siècle', in *A Cluny, congrès scientifique, fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des*

Cochelin believes that all of Saint-Bénigne's customaries were intended to be used more actively than just for inspiration, not as regulations to be followed to the letter but as referential tools allowing for flexibility and acclimatization between the ideal distant community of Cluny and local practices. She concludes that Saint-Bénigne's ownership of three versions of Cluniac customaries indicates a wilful adoption of Cluniac customs.[35] More importantly, the continuity of Saint-Bénigne's customaries reinforces a conclusion that they describe practices observed at Saint-Bénigne. Their similar descriptions of liturgical procedures make it possible occasionally to use all three for identifying specific sites in the early eleventh-century church. Because the third gives far more detail, it can sometimes be used to supplement information in the first. Because Saint-Bénigne's customs, for the most part, are those of Cluny with site-specific modifications, it is also possible in some cases to use information described in greater detail in other Cluniac-based texts to amplify our understanding of early practices at Saint-Bénigne. For example, although there are significant differences among the texts of the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, as pointed out above, the liturgy described is usually the same. Nonetheless, even when the practice described is identical to the other texts of the group, the participants' experience of the liturgy in Dijon would have been different because of an extremely different architectural setting. For example, because the altar of the Virgin was located at Saint-Bénigne in the axial chapel of the second level of the rotunda instead of to the east of the chapter house, as at Cluny, the path of processions to it from the choir and, hence, the monks' visual experience of the liturgy differed significantly.

The Rotunda of Saint-Bénigne

The three-storeyed eastern rotunda attached to the chevet of the basilica of Saint-Bénigne played an important part in the liturgy. The entire rotunda was dedicated to 'Mary, ever Virgin and all the martyrs',[36] and its second level was

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saints Abbés Odon et Odilon, 9–11 juillet 1949 (Dijon: Société des Amis de Cluny, 1950), 233–43, at 236, 239–42. For evidence that the musical tradition of Saint-Bénigne had the same continuity, see Michel Huglo, 'Le tonaire de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (Montpellier H. 159)', *Annales musicologique, moyen-âge et renaissance* 4 (1956): 7–18; Martimort, *La documentation liturgique*, 99–102, discusses other liturgical sources for Saint-Bénigne known to have been in its library during the seventeenth century, as were the second and third customaries; some are still extant, as, for example, a twelfth-century lectionary, martyrology and necrology, and extracts of relics from a breviary.

35 Cochelin, 'Customaries', 53.

36 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 33n23, 66n223, 71; Chomton, *Histoire*, 123, cites *Martyrologium Sancti Benigni Divionnensis* (Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 379, fol. 25): 'in honore semper virginis Mariae et omnium martyrum dedicavit'.

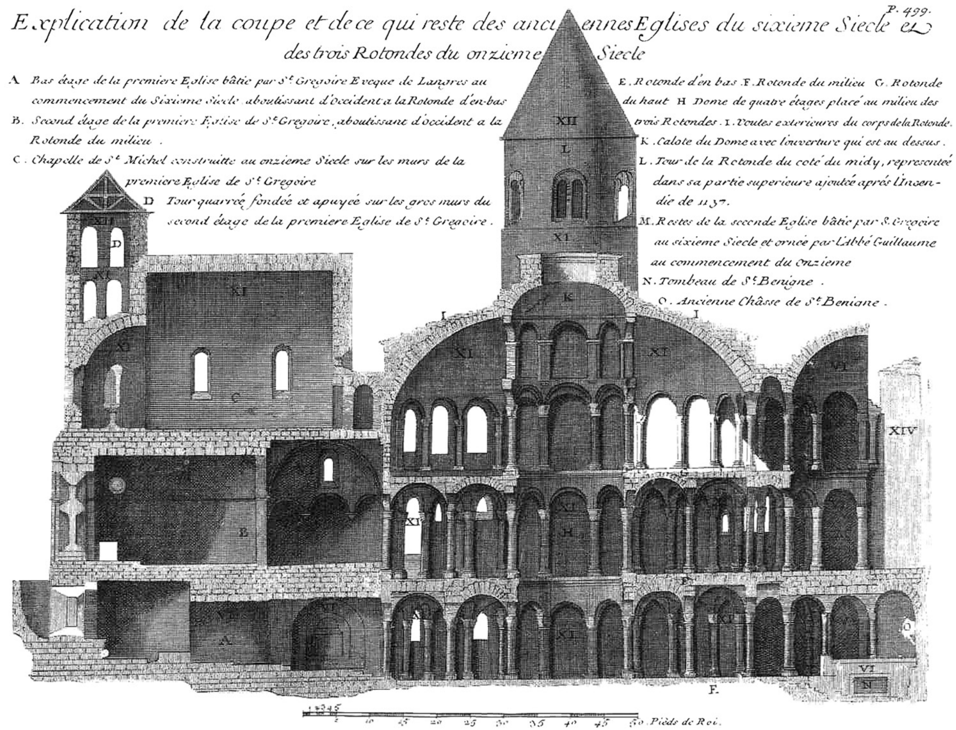

Figure 9.1 Saint-Bénigne, rotunda, longitudinal section, from Dom Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de la Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Dijon: De Fay, 1739–48, repr. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1968), 1:499 (photo: C. Malone)

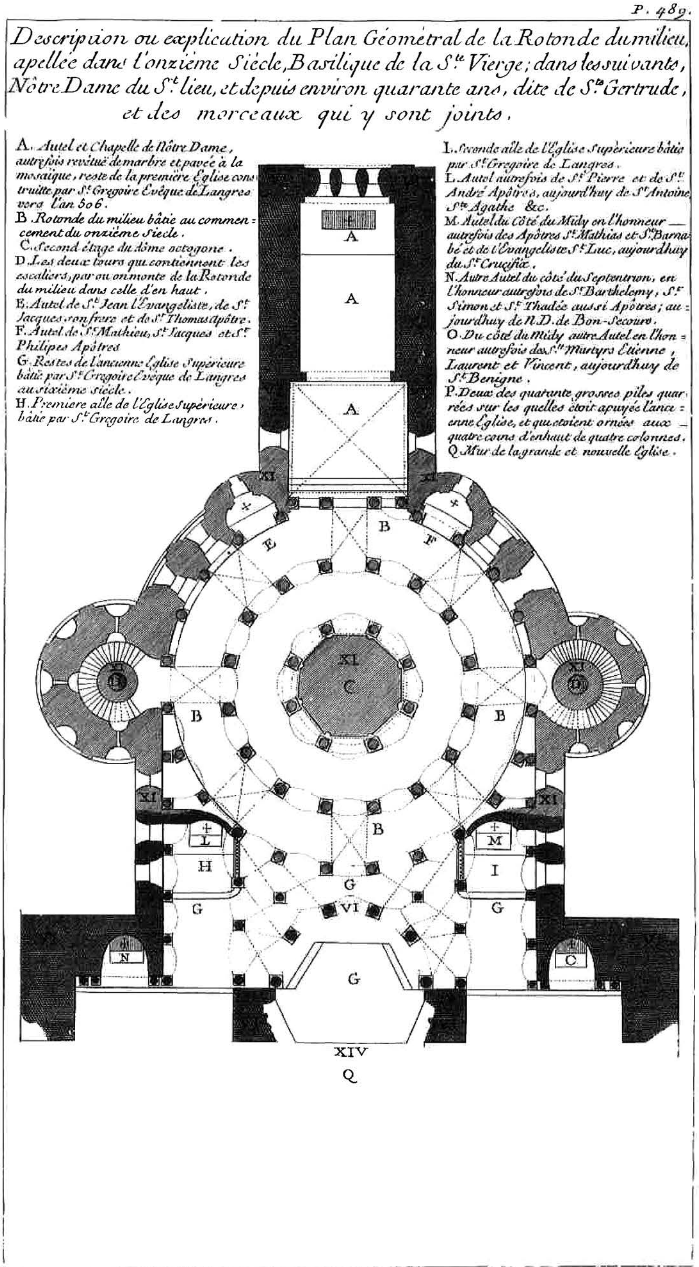

Figure 9.2 Saint-Bénigne, rotunda, plan of the second level, from Plancher, *Histoire*, 1: 489 (photo: C. Malone)

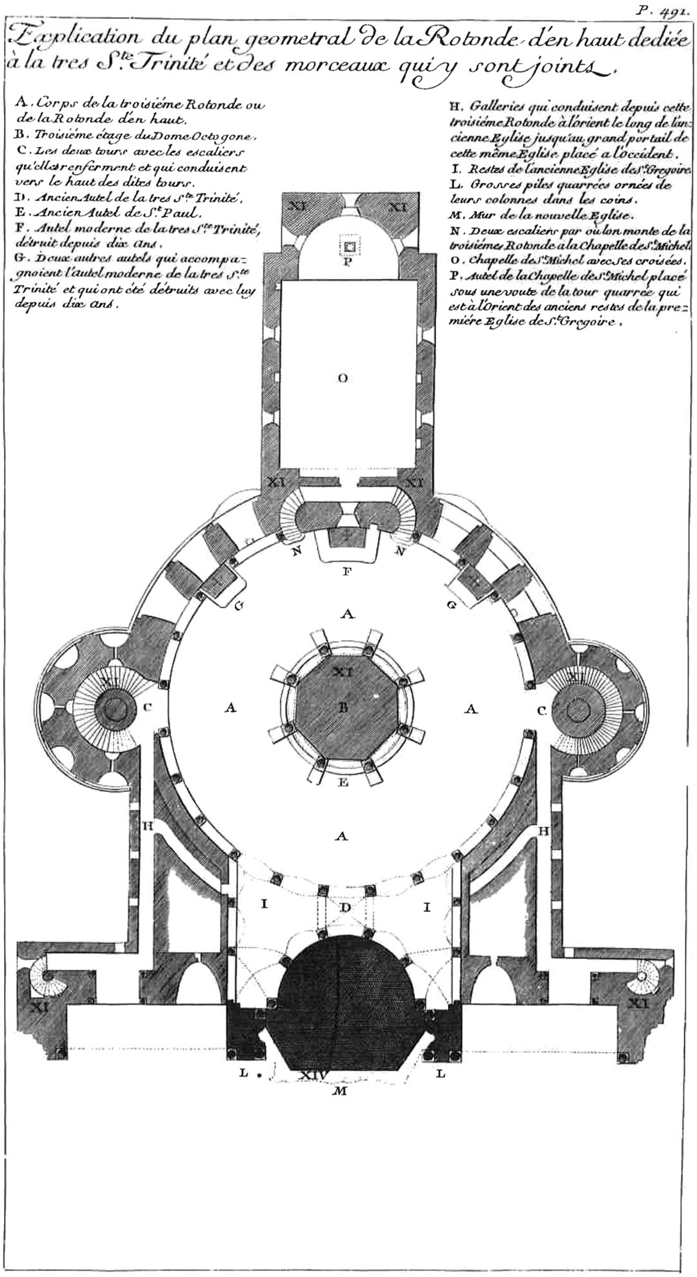

Figure 9.3 Saint-Bénigne, rotunda, plan of the third level, from Plancher, *Histoire*, 1:491 (photo: C. Malone)

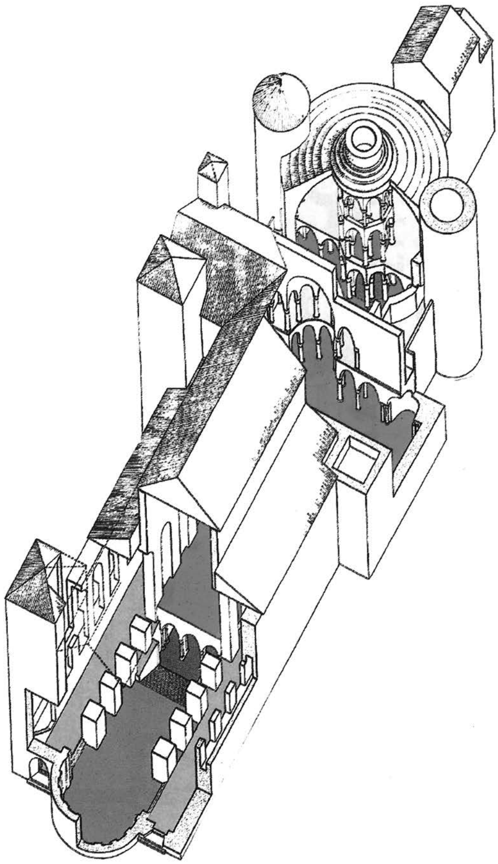

Figure 9.4 Saint-Bénigne, reconstruction, C. Malone, drawn by G. Monthel

known as the 'church of St Mary' with the altar in its axial chapter dedicated to her.[37] The second level was on the same level as the choir of the basilica, and the altar of the Virgin in its axial chapel was aligned with the main altar dedicated to St Bénigne, located in the basilica's hemicycle, directly above his tomb in the

37 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 294 line 1: the second customary refers to the second level as 'the church of St Mary' and states that its altar was dedicated 'to the Mother of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ' (ecclesia Sanctae Maria … in honorem eiusdem Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Genitricis suntque); ibid., 71, 290 line 69: the chronicle of Saint-Bénigne confirms not only that its second storey was the 'church of St Mary, mother of God' but also that the altar in its axial chapel was dedicated to 'Mary ever virgin' (basilicam sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae … perpetuae virginis).

crypt below (Figures 9.1, 9.2, 9.4).[38] The altar of the Virgin was frequently the destination of monastic processions from the choir, and her altar could only be reached by going through the rotunda. Because of the open arcades of the hemicycle and the rotunda's central light-well, her altar was visible from the choir, and red and green columns supporting the arcading visually linked it with the main altar by creating a west–east axis across the rotunda (Figure 9.2).[39]

The third level of the rotunda was dedicated to the Trinity. The chronicle describes it as 'constructed in the form of a crown, supported by thirty-six columns; the light shines with an exceptional brightness from the windows on all sides and from the open sky above.'[40] The 'open sky' refers to the central *oculus* depicted in Plancher's eighteenth-century drawing and plan (Figures 9.1, 9.3). The chronicle adds that 'the altar of the Trinity is so placed that for those entering and standing anywhere in the church it may easily be seen.'[41] This was possible because the altar was located in the middle of the hemicycle's gallery in alignment with the altar of Saint-Bénigne in the hemicyle below.[42] Thus, for the monks in the choir, light descending from the rotunda's *oculus* through the arcaded gallery of the hemicycle would have united visually the Trinity altar with the main altar of Saint-Bénigne.[43] This simultaneous illumination of altars was probably also visible to the laity in the nave which was located at a lower level than the choir to the west of the crypt (Figures 9.1, 9.4).[44]

The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin at Saint-Bénigne

Analysis of the procession for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin allows us to see how its three successive customaries, and related Cluniac customaries, can

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[38] The monks' choir included the transept of the church. The main altar was in the hemicycle of the monks' choir. The term 'hemicycle' refers to the semicircular termination of the choir when it is surrounded by columns instead of an apse wall. A hemicycle is often surrounded by an ambulatory and in conjunction with a crown of chapels constitutes the chevet of a basilica.

[39] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne et sa rotonde*, 134, 153n124.

[40] Ibid., 290 line 77: 'Haec in modum coronae constructa. triginta quoque et sex innixa columnis. fenestris undique ac desuper patulo caelo lumen infundentibus micat eximia claritate'.

[41] Ibid., 290 line 80: 'Altare sanctae trinitatis ita est positum. ut undecumque ingredientibus ac ubicumque per aecclesiam consistentibus sit perspicuum'.

[42] Ibid., 161n99, 246. In the fifteenth century the Trinity altar was moved from the west to the east of the *oculus*, as shown in Plancher's plan (Figure 9.3).

[43] Because the openings of the gallery of the hemicyle directed light from all sides of the *oculus* onto the main altar below, any light, no matter what its intensity or angle of its projection, would have descended onto the altar.

[44] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 158.

be used to locate the architectural site where specific chants were intended to be sung. This procession on 2 February celebrated Christ's arrival as the new light during a re-enactment of his presentation in the Temple following the office of terce around 9:00 in the morning.[45] After the blessing of the candles at the Marian altar on that day, the monks made a procession towards the choir for mass. The only route between this altar and the choir at Saint-Bénigne was across the rotunda; hence, it is possible to visualize how the light from the rotunda's *oculus*, descending through the arcading of the rotunda's central light-well, would have resonated with the words of the chants specified for this procession and with the candles carried by the monks, symbolizing Christ as the new light.

Saint-Bénigne's first customary says that there should be a procession after terce 'to the place where the candles are blessed'.[46] This place can be identified as the altar of the Virgin on the basis of information in the contemporaneous Cluniac-inspired customary from Nonantola which specifies, as do two others in the *Consuetudines antiquiores*, that the procession was to go 'to the oratory of St Mary'.[47] Additionally, Saint-Bénigne's second and third customary refer to 'the oratory of St Mary' as the site for the blessing of the candles.[48] The altar of the Virgin in 'the oratory of St Mary' was located on the second level of the eastern chapel of the rotunda (Figures 9.1, 9.2). Then, the first customary states: 'the [candles] having been given to all the brothers; when they will have begun to light them, the singer begins the antiphon *Venit lumen*. The same with *Lumen ad revelationem* ... They sing Mass'.[49] Thus, on their way from the altar of the Virgin towards the choir for mass the monks would have crossed the rotunda

45 Terce corresponds to the third hour of a day in which sext and none correspond to the sixth and ninth hours and thus follow the zero hour of lauds that begins at approximately 6:00 am. Depending on the weather, the intensity of the light would have varied within the rotunda, but even on a cloudy day some light would have descended from the *oculus*.

46 *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 39 lines 25–7 (B^2): 'ubi benedicendi sunt cerei, faciant orationem'.

47 Ibid., 39 line 20 (B^1): 'ad oratorium sanctae Mariae'.

48 Martène, *De antiquis*, vol. 4, book 3, col. 300: 'oratorio B. Mariae'; Chomton, *Histoire*, 401.

49 *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 40 lines 6–11 and line 29: B^2 (donare [cereos] ad omnes fratres. Cumque caeperint accendi incipiat cantor antiphonam Venit lumen. Item Lumen ad revelationem ... Cantent missam). Candles *[cereos]* are specified in the similar text of B^1. See also Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 181–84. *Liber tramitis*, ed. Dinter, 42, adds that 'before the mass began the monks offered the candles that they carried to the priest'. See *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, RED series maior, fontes 7–12, 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963–79), 4: Responsoria, Versus, Hymni et Varia (1970), for *Venit lumen*, as an antiphon (no. 5344) and as a response (no. 7833) as well as *Lumen ad revelationem* as an antiphon (no. 3645) and later as a response (no 601338). An antiphon is a verse or a series of verses sung as a prelude or conclusion to some part of the service. A response responds to a psalm or other part of a religious service.

with the words of *Venit lumen*, 'Thou light comes oh Jerusalem, and the glory of God rises above you; the people walk in your light', resonating with the beam of light from the oculus which illuminated their path.[50] This dramatic visual effect, along with the sound of the chant, the smell of the incense and the tactile warmth of the candles would have created a synergy of sensations enhancing their spiritual experience of Christ as the new and eternal light. This chant, which is documented as part of Abbot William's musical tradition, is included neither in Cluniac customaries nor in Saint-Bénigne's third customary for the feast of the Purification.[51] Perhaps Abbot William added *Venit lumen* to the Cluniac celebration of this feast with the *oculus* and procession in mind or even designed the *oculus* in relation to this and other processions that he envisioned between the altar of the Virgin and the choir.[52]

According to the first customary, following *Venit lumen* but before mass in the choir, the monks sang the more usual chant of *Lumen ad revelationem*, 'A light to illuminate the nations', which is based on the primary text for this feast,

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[50] *Venit lumen tuum, Jerusalem, et gloria Domini super te orta est; et ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo, alleluia. Venit Lumen* is based on Isaiah 60:1–7: 'Arise be enlightened, O Jerusalem; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. For behold darkness shall cover the earth, and a mist the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And the Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the brightness of thy rising. Lift up thine eyes round about, and see …'. (These and other Bible translations are from the Latin Vulgate Bible, Douay-Rheims Version, http://www.latinvulgate.com/).

[51] For a more complete explanation of *Venit lumen*, including its earlier use, see Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 183. According to Raymond Le Roux, *Venit lumen* was part of William's musical tradition, appearing in twelfth-century breviaries from Norman abbeys that he reformed as well as in the fourteenth-century Breviary of Saint-Bénigne but not in Cluniac customaries. See R. Le Roux, 'Guillaume de Volpiano, son cursus liturgique au Mont Saint-Michel et dans les abbayes normandes', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel, vol. 1: Histoire et vie monastiques*, ed. Jean Laporte (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1966), 417–72, at 443, 445–46, 468–72.

[52] The use of *Venit lumen* for the Feast of the Purification is unusual. It is usually used as a response for Epiphany. *Venit lumen* was, however, also sung as an antiphon for the feast of the Purification in the *Consuetudines Fructuarienses* II of Fruttuaria, an abbey founded by William on his family estate in northern Italy. In Saint-Bénigne's first customary, *Venit lumen* is cited additionally as a response at vespers for the Vigil of Epiphany (*Corpus antiphonalium offici*, ed. Hesbert, 7:2, 36) and in its third customary as a response for the octave of Epiphany (Chomton, *Histoire*, 400). Likewise, *Venit lumen* is indicated as a response for Epiphany in the *Redactio Galeatensis* de San Ilaro di Galeata, a customary based on the first customary of Saint-Bénigne (Poppi, Bibliotheca Communale, Ms. 63, fols. 2r–22v). The *Cantus* data base, http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus, includes *Venit lumen* only as an antiphon or as a response for Epiphany, not for the Purification of the Virgin.

Luke 2.[53] According to the second customary, relics and 'an image of the Christ Child depicted on a gilded tablet' were carried at the head of this procession.[54] The monks carried candles to imitate Mary carrying Christ, as the new light, into the world in anticipation of their future entrance into the Heavenly Jerusalem.[55] Around the year 1000, Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 955–1010) concluded his sermon for this day with the words, 'Though some men cannot sing, they can, nevertheless, bear the light in their hands; for on this day was Christ, the true Light, borne to the temple, who redeemed us from darkness and bringeth us to the Eternal Light ....'[56] Accordingly, during the feast of the Purification which celebrated the Incarnation, the architectural frame afforded a ritual experience of God's descent to mankind from the invisible to the visible as light.

Palm Sunday in Dijon

Further comparison of Saint-Bénigne's three successive customaries reveals a change in the site for singing the *Gloria laus* hymn during the procession on Palm Sunday between the eleventh and late twelfth century. The change can be interpreted as enhancing the performance and meaning of this major feature of the procession that took place after terce and re-enacted Christ's triumphal entry into the city of Jerusalem as an anticipation of mankind's future entrance into the Heavenly Jerusalem. According to the first customary, the children sang the *Gloria laus* at the gate of the fortress (*portam castellum*) in Dijon.[57] If they sang

53 According to the Gospel of Luke 2:30–32, Simeon, a priest in the Temple recognized Christ as the Messiah and exclaimed, 'Because my eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples: A light to the revelation of the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel.'

54 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 180n40; Heitz, 'Lumieres', 94: 'pueri Jesu (imago) quae depicta est in tabula aurata'. It was also carried during the processions of Christmas and the Assumption of the Virgin.

55 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 183–84; Margot Fassler, 'Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres', *Art Bulletin* 57 (1993): 499–520, at 513. Early prayers and sermons allude to the similarity of those in this lighted procession with those who wait with lighted lamps for the bridegroom's return at the end of time; Thomas Dale, 'The Nude at Moissac; Vision, Phantasia and the Experience of Romanesque Sculpture', in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Robert Maxwell and Kirk Ambrose, Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 74. The words accompanying the antiphons for the feast of the Presentation in a twelfth-century processional from Moissac (Paris, BN, Ms. latin 2819) cast this celebration of the Child's reception in the Temple as the participants' entry into heaven.

56 Aelfric, *Homilies of Aelfric: The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe (London: Taylor for Aelfric Society, 1844), 1:151.

57 Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 206–11; *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 65. Saint-Bénigne's first customary (B^2) differs from the contemporaneous

it from above the gate, the singers would have corresponded to the 'company of angels ... praising thee on high', invoked in the *Gloria laus* hymn.[58] Yet, by the time of the third customary the *Gloria laus* is to be sung as the procession entered the church. The new location is similar to Cluniac custom, but the third customary is clearly describing the practice at Saint-Bénigne because it names other churches in Dijon to be visited earlier during the procession.[59]

According to the third customary, the singers are in the nave, and 'while the procession is entering the church, these singers intoned the *Gloria laus* ... When finished ... the procession mounted to the choir.'[60] At the entrance to the church the procession would have passed beneath a tympanum depicting the *Maiestas domini* flanked by angels, which was added in the mid-twelfth century. This carved image is a promise of the face-to-face encounter with God that will be realized at the end of time and can now only be seen by angels

texts of the *Consuetudines antiquiores* in which the *Gloria laus* is sung before the procession enters the door of the church (*portam aecclesiae*); Jean Richard, 'Histoire topographique de Dijon', *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités du département de la Côte-D'Or* 22 (1951): 316–50, at 317. This gate (*portam castellum*) in Dijon seems to correspond to the later gate of the Bourg on the west of the fortress which can be seen in plans of Dijon in 1574 but is no longer present in 1595.

58 David Chadd, 'The Ritual of Palm Sunday: Reading Nidaros', in *The Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim: Architectural and Ritual Constructions in Their European Context*, ed. Margrete Syrstad Andås et al., Ritus et artes: Traditions and Transformations 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 253–78, at 268. This location was repeated at Fécamp, also reformed by Abbot William. City gates and the entrance of the church were the most popular locations for this Palm Sunday station. See also Susan Boynton, 'The Liturgical Role of Children in Monastic Customaries', *Studia liturgica* 28 (1998): 194–209, at 208.

59 Chomton, *Histoire*, 404: the procession proceeds to the nearby churches of Saint-Jean and Saint-Philibert before returning to Saint-Bénigne for the *Gloria laus*. Likewise, the procedure to be taken for this procession during an interdict species that the monks pass through the chapter house in order to get to the infirmary chapel dedicated to St Benedict, a dedication and route specific to Saint-Bénigne.

60 Ibid., 403–4: 'Et dum processio in ecclesiam venerit, illi cantores simul incipiunt Gloria laus, quem versum simul conventus reincipit et finit sedentibus cunctis ... Quo finit, simul incipiunt resp. *Ingrediente Domino*, tunc ascendit processio in chorum.' This part of the second customary was not copied by Lanthenas or Martène; however, Martène, *De antiquis*, vol. 4, book. 3, col. 345, states that it was identical to the customs of Udalrich: 'Returning to the vestibule of the church with these verses: *Gloria Laus*' ('Redeundo vestibulo ecclesiae cum his versibus: Gloria laus'); this is similar to Bernard of Cluny, 'Ordo', 307: 'let them receive the procession in the vestibule [narthex] of the church with such verses as these, *Gloria laus*; and when these verses are finished, the responsory *Ingrediente* is sung at the entrance to the church' ('Processionem in vestibulo ecclesiae cum huiusmodi versibus, & cum eisdem cappis regant chorum ad Missam, Gloria, laus; quibus finitis, ad introitum ecclesiae cantatur Resp. *Ingrediente*').

of the highest order.[61] As the procession passed beneath this visual reference to heaven and entered the church, the earthly equivalent of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation heard the angels' song of praise, the *Gloria laus*, 'All glory, laud, and honour to thee, Redeemer, King'.[62] Moreover, once inside the nave, they would have seen on axis with this tympanum the altar of the Trinity in the gallery of the hemicycle which, according to the chronicle, 'is so placed that for those entering ... the church it may easily be seen'.[63] As the monks ascended to the choir to celebrate mass the light from the oculus would have united the Trinity altar with the Host on the altar of Saint-Bénigne below, perhaps evoking for them the union of his spiritual and corporal natures.

Saint-Bénigne: Conclusions

Thus, the sequence of Saint-Bénigne's three customaries, considered in conjunction with its architecture, permits one to observe continuity and change in ritual performance. The first customary provides information about the liturgy that William, its abbot-builder, seems to have intended, such as the chanting of *Venit lumen* in the rotunda during the procession for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin and the singing of the *Gloria laus* at the gate of the fortress on Palm Sunday.[64] In the later customaries these

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61 The *Maiestas domini* is based on Revelation 4 and Revelation 1:8, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, saith the Lord God, who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty.'

62 Although no texts from Saint-Bénigne or Cluny refer to laity in reference to any specific procession, it is likely that the laity, as well as the monks, were present during this procession that went outside the church. The mid-eleventh century customary from Farfa, which describes the customs of Cluny, refers to the laity in a general way during processions in front of the door to the church. See *Liber tramitis*, ed. Dinter, 204: 'two towers are placed in front of this galilee [narthex]. Underneath is an atrium where the laity stands so as not to impede the processions' ('duae turrae sunt ipsius galileae in fronte constitute et subter ipsas atrium est ubi laici stant, ut non impediant processionem').

63 See above note 41.

64 *Consuetudines Cluniacensium antiquiores*, ed. Hallinger et al., 62. Abbot William's involvement in the liturgy may also be apparent in an additional practice on Palm Sunday described in the first customary, which is found neither in the later customaries nor any Cluniac text: after Matins an *osanna* was taken to an unspecified 'meeting place', perhaps another church outside the monastery, where it was met by the procession coming from the blessing of the palms en route to sing the *Gloria laus*. Chadd, 'Ritual of Palm Sunday', 263–69, believes that the term o*sanna* may indicate relics, if not the host. A similar reference to *osanna* in the customary of Fruttuaria, an Italian abbey reformed by William, seems, according to Chadd, to refer to relics. On the other hand, Elizabeth Lipsmeyer, 'Devotion and Decorum: Intention and Quality in Medieval German Sculpture', *Gesta* 34 (1995): 20–27, at 21, 26, understands the *osanna* in the Fruttuaria text, which is carried to another

two liturgical moments are more similar to Cluniac practice. Moreover, the relocation of the place where the *Gloria laus* was sung on Palm Sunday had visual consequences for the participants in Dijon because it created a greater correspondence between what the participants heard (the angels' chant from 'on high') and what they saw at the entrance to the church (the heavenly imagery in the tympanum). Visual emphasis on the words of the chant, however, seems to have been a recurring aspect of liturgical performance. This emphasis occurred early in the eleventh century when both *Venit lumen* and *Lumen ad revelationem* would have resonated with the light descending from the *oculus* in the rotunda. Although *Venit lumen* later disappears from Saint-Bénigne's customaries, a similar experience was still possible because *Lumen ad revelationem* continued to be sung according to the third customary. These attempts to localize the architectural sites where textually documented chants were sung at Saint-Bénigne not only add to our understanding of liturgical processions but also make it possible to visualize the ways in which the church building was able to enhance the performance of the liturgy.

St Andrew at Wells

During the thirteenth century, simulation of a heavenly setting for the performance of the choristers singing the *Gloria laus* hymn on Palm Sunday was to be developed even further at St Andrew in Wells where the facade depicted the Heavenly Jerusalem and was constructed with a hidden passage for singers behind a row of carved angels once present in the lower row of quatrefoils above the central door (Figures 9.5, 9.6).[65] The facade was built around 1220 by Bishop Jocelin (1206–42),[66] but the earliest account of liturgical processions for Wells is an ordinal, forming the second and third sections of a fourteenth-century consuetudinary which was probably based on a lost ordinal written in

church, to have been most likely an image on a panel, as may have been the *osanna* referred to in Saint-Bénigne's first customary, given that its second customary mentions a gilded tablet with an image of the Christ Child which was carried during processions at Christmas, the Purification and the Assumption.

[65] Malone, *Façade*, 43–83, for the sculptural programme which depicts the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:2: 'And I, John, saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband'. The image of the Coronation of the Virgin above the centre portal refers to the Church Triumphant, crowned in the image of Mary and reigning with Christ as His Bride in the palace of heaven.

[66] Malone, *Façade*, 20–26, for the dating of the facade.

Figure 9.5 St Andrew, Wells, façade (photo: C. Malone)

1298.[67] Scholars concur that this ordinal was adapted from the Sarum Use.[68]

67 Herbert Edward Reynolds, ed., *Wells Cathedral, Its Foundation, Constitutional History, and Statutes* (Leeds: M'Corquodale, 1880); Aelred Watkin, ed., *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, Somerset Record Society 56 (Frome: Somerset Record Society, 1941), xxviii, 27–52, 111–34, translated the text and concluded that 'in its present form [it] is identical with that introduced from Salisbury c. 1270 and is not a later redaction of it'. In 1241, during the episcopate of Jocelin, the chapter at Wells had ordered the correction of the existing ordinal, and in 1273 the order was repeated. Finally, in 1298 a statute referred to the ordinal with satisfaction. Arnold Klukas, 'The *Liber Ruber* and the Rebuilding of the East End of Wells', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1978 (London: British Archaeological Association, 1981), 30–36, at 31, dates the text (found in the *Liber Ruber* which is written in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century hand) to after 1318 but states that 'the major portion of the text is certainly that of the ordinal required by statute in 1298'. See also Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Studies and Texts 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971), 62; Pfaff, *Liturgy*, 505–7, concludes that 'Salisbury seems to be the model [for Wells] as early as, and to the extent that, we can derive any concrete information about its liturgy' (quote on 505).

68 *The Use of Sarum*: *The Original Texts edited from the Mss*, ed. Walter Howard Frere, vol. 1: *The Sarum Customs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), xix, and vol. 2: *The Ordinal and Tonal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), xxix. Frere fixed the date of the *Sarum Use* to around 1210, certainly between 1173 and 1220 because it mentions the

Figure 9.6 St Andrew, Wells, quatrefoils above the portal (photo: C. Malone)

Because Wells relied on Salisbury's customs at the beginning of the thirteenth century and because the processions described in the later Wells ordinal are similar to the Sarum Use, it is possible to reconstruct the Palm Sunday procession for Wells at the time of the facade's design around 1220. The order of stations in this ordinal indicates that the second station took place in front of the west front and that during this station the *Gloria laus* was sung; the rubrics of the later Sarum Missal add that this hymn was performed by 'boys

martyrdom but not the translation of St Thomas at Canterbury, hence, to the time of Richard Poore (dean of Salisbury in 1197 and bishop in 1217), who was a close associate of Bishop Jocelin. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, cxxxvii, supported Frere's assessment that Wells had been dependent on Sarum customs since the twelfth or early thirteenth century by pointing out that the Dean and Canons at Wells in 1213 were to consult the Sarum chapter concerning the customs in case the Deanery was vacant. Matthew Salisbury, Chapter 5 in this book, notes the usefulness of Frere's editions. Pfaff, *Liturgy*, 364, 505–6, believes that Sarum usages would have certainly been present at Wells by time of Reginald fitz Jocelin (1174–91), if not earlier under Robert of Lewes (1136–66), and that the Sarum ordinal could predate Richard Poore and could date from the reign of Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Sarum (1142–84).

singing in an elevated place'.[69] The passage constructed in the lower zone of the facade accommodates well these rubrics as an ideal location for singers of the *Gloria laus*. No other account of processions specifies singers in an elevated position, as does that of Palm Sunday, although stations were made in front of the facade, according to the Wells ordinal, on Ascension Day and Pentecost.[70]

Whilst at York a temporary platform appears to have been erected in front of the facade of the cathedral for choristers to sing from an 'elevated place' during the Palm Sunday procession,[71] at Wells a permanent, hidden passage was constructed in the thickness of the west wall of the facade. Because it does not open into the nave, it was clearly intended to communicate only with the area in front of the facade through splayed *oculi* that were once concealed behind busts of angels in the lower band of quatrefoils on each side of the central portal (Figure 9.6).[72] These openings are splayed outward, like a reversed megaphone, and are located at two levels in the west wall of the passage: the upper openings are five and a half feet (1.67 metres) above the floor of the passage while the lower are four feet (1.23 metres) above the floor, indicating choristers of two heights.[73]

A similar system of passages and *oculi* once existed in the later facade of Salisbury Cathedral where eight small quatrefoils formerly opened onto the exterior but are now concealed by nineteenth-century statues.[74] Here, however,

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69 *The Sarum Missal: Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, ed. John Wickham Legg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), v–ix, 96: 'pueri in eminenciori loco canentes'. The chants used during the Wells processions are preserved in the *Sarum Missal* (c. 1264), certainly dated between 1150 and 1319.

70 Malone, *Façade*, 140.

71 For a reference to the York Use and Missal see Daniel Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers, as Seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury*, 4 vols. (London: John Hodges, 1904), vol. 4, pt. 2, 269–70n62; Mark Spurrell, 'The Procession of Palms and West-Front Galleries', *The Downside Review* 415 (2001): 125–44, at 131–32.

72 The passage for the choristers is the lower of two superposed passages constructed within the west wall of the facade. The upper passage at triforium level opens onto the nave and is fully visible within the church. The lower passage is invisible from within the church because it is closed to the nave with solid masonry. Several steps leading down from the triforium give access to this lower passage; the low height of its entrance makes it suitable for choristers but unlikely for maintenance. In this lower passage twelve *oculi*, arranged in triangular groups of three, within the outer west wall, are now visible within the four lower quatrefoils adjacent to the Coronation of the Virgin, located above the central portal, because the angel busts here have been destroyed. The higher *oculi* are behind the top lobe of each quatrefoil, while the lower pairs are behind the side lobes.

73 In a text message to the author on 15 March 2012 Susan Boynton stated 'that the different heights of the openings could be related to younger boys of different heights'.

74 Jerry Sampson, *Wells Cathedral West Front* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 172; Spurrell, 'Procession', 124–35. Similar openings to the west, as at Wells, occur later in the thirteenth century at Kilkenny, Ireland, which is built of Somerset limestone and had

this passage with quatrefoils is open to the nave through an arcaded gallery. H. Shortt first pointed out that the choristers probably sang the *Gloria laus* from this passage behind the quatrefoil openings above the entrance at Salisbury and noted the similar arrangement at Wells; his observations were developed by Pamela Blum and Jerry Sampson.[75] Sarum scholars, however, have not accepted this location for the second station at Salisbury, and some have also questioned the use of the openings at Wells for singers of the *Gloria laus* during the second station. Putting aside discussion of the route of the procession at Salisbury, consideration of its route at Wells might be helpful.

Let us first take a look at the route for the Palm Sunday procession as described in the Wells ordinal:

> First it goes through the north door of the choir, goes round the choir and cloister, out into the big graveyard [the lay cemetery to the west of the facade] through the choristers' house [on the west side of the cloister] and round the graveyard up to the place of the first station … The procession then moves off to the second station, the precentor intoning the anthem. The second station is made before the door where the boys sing the *Gloria laus*. The station ended, the procession goes to the place of the third station, which is usually made before another door of the Church on the same side where three priests in the doorway sing the verses facing the people without changing their choir-dress. This done, the procession goes to the west door and then enters, passing under the box of relics which is lifted up across the doorway. Finally a station is made before the rood … all enter the choir ….[76]

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adopted the Sarum Use in 1172, and at Lichfield, which did not follow the Sarum Use. J. Philip McAleer, 'Particularly English? Screen Facades of the Type of Salisbury and Wells Cathedrals', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 141 (1988): 124–58, at 148–50, believed, without textual evidence, that twelfth-century passages in the thickness of the facade wall behind arcading at Lindisfarne, Rochester, St Botolph's, Colchester, and perhaps Croyland and Malmesbury could have had a similar liturgical use.

75 Hugh de Sausmarez Shortt, *Salisbury Cathedral and Indications of the Sarum Use* (Salisbury: Friends of Salisbury Cathedral, 1970), 4; Pamela Blum, 'Liturgical Influences on the Design of the West Front of Wells and Salisbury', *Gesta* 25, no. 1 (1986): 145–50; Sampson, *Wells*, 169.

76 Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, 116; Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 29: 'In primis eant per ostiu boriali chori circuens choru et claustru et exeant in cimiterio magno per domu Choristaru circuens cimiterium usq ad locum prime stationis … Deinde eat processio ad locum secunde stationis Precentore incipiente Antiphona fit autem secunda statio ante ostiu ubi pueri cantant Gloria laus peracta autem statione eat processio ad locu tertie stationis que fieri solet ante aliud ostium ipsius ecclesie, ex eodem latere ubi tres sacerdotes in ipso ostio habitu non mutato conversi ad populu dicant versu: his peractis eat processio ad ostiu occidentale et ibi intret sub capsula reliquiaru ex transverso ostii elevate, et fiat statio ante crucem … intrent choru …'.

Mark Spurrell believes that the processional route at Wells should have been similar to that in the Sarum Use, although he admitted that the Wells ordinal changed the route between the choir and the first station by having it go into the cemetery of the laity to the west of the facade.[77] Although this first station in the cemetery, in turn, oriented the procession towards the facade for the second station, he suggested that the second station was in front of the north porch at Wells. Nonetheless, he placed the third station in front of the north door of the facade although, according to the ordinal, it is 'on the same side' of the church as the second. At Wells the north door of the facade would not have been conceived as being on the same side of the church as the north porch because it is separated clearly from the north side by the massive projecting north facade tower. Spurrell also objected to the use of the openings at Wells for singing the *Gloria laus* because they were hidden and felt that, if they had served this use, the procession 'seems to dither under the west front'.[78] He concluded, however, 'It is probably impossible to be certain of the route of the Palm Procession at Wells.'[79]

Spurrell did not take into account adequately the relocation of the first station to the west of the facade and the consequent orientation of the procession towards the *oculi* and the fact that their elevated position on the facade corresponds to the rubrics in the Sarum Missal for the singing of the *Gloria laus* during the second station. Furthermore, he seems not to have understood the dramatic reasons for hiding singers behind carved angels for the performance of this hymn of angelic praise and for having the procession linger before a facade that depicts the Heavenly Jerusalem, the ultimate goal of the procession. On the other hand, although William Mahrt, a specialist in Sarum liturgy, does not believe that the second station took place in front of Salisbury's west facade,[80] he understands that the relocation of the first station of the Sarum procession to the new cemetery facing the facade at Wells coincided with a logical and meaningful relocation of the second station, stating that 'the ceremonial books prescribe this hymn exactly at the proper point to be sung from the singers' holes in the Palm Sunday procession'.[81]

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77 Spurrell, 'Procession', 136–37.

78 Ibid., 134.

79 Ibid., 139.

80 William Peter Mahrt, 'The Role of Old Sarum in the Processions of Salisbury Cathedral', in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, ed. George Hardin Brons and Linda Ehrsam Voigts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 129–41; he does not mention Wells.

81 William Peter Mahrt, 'Review of *Façade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004, by Carolyn Marino Malone', *The Medieval Review*, at tmr-l@wmich.edu, 17 March 2005. Mahrt also believes that 'Wells is the place

Although Christopher Hohler in a letter written around 1990 considered it 'manifest and incontestable' that the openings at both Salisbury and Wells were for singers responding to other singers outside the west door, he questioned whether they were specifically intended for the *Gloria laus* and denied 'that it was ever Salisbury use (as opposed to York use) for the *Gloria laus* to be sung over the west door, though [he added] I should not contemplate trying to maintain that it was never in practice occasionally sung there at Salisbury or at Wells'.[82] He believed that if the openings were devised for the Palm Sunday procession, which took place only once each year, they would

> … seem a disproportionate expenditure of money and effort … It looks to me like an architect's brainstorm, sold to a couple of patrons as calculated to add grace and solemnity to every sort of ceremonial entry into the church, which proved a complete failure … and I expect … that the effect is better if the singers are in the open air.[83]

Certainly, the passage and openings could have been used on other occasions, such as for the reception of distinguished visitors, although there is no evidence for this in the textual sources.[84] Moreover, actual experiments were tried at Wells of having the choir sing from the passage, demonstrating that voices were clearly audible across the Cathedral Green (the previous lay cemetery) and that the passage functioned as a resonating chamber.[85] Instead of having the sound scatter in the open air, the back wall of the passage acted as a sounding-board from which the sound was reflected and collected within the splay of the holes and released loudly.[86]

All scholars concur that Wells is the first example of a passage with *oculi* hidden behind carved angels in a facade wall.[87] This staging device for singing

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where their purpose is most clearly demonstrable. Malone correctly describes the adaptation of the Sarum rite to the topography of Wells.'

82 Christopher Hohler, 'The Palm Sunday Procession and the West Front of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Medieval Cathedral of Trondheim*, 285–90, at 285.

83 Ibid., 289–90.

84 Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, 116, 121; Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 34. During the procession for the reception of distinguished guests, a station was made before the choir screen and verses were sung by three of the choir from the screen facing the people. The procession then went out through the west door to the appointed place to receive the king, archbishop, bishop or papal legate who was then led back through the portals of both the facade and choir screen to the high altar.

85 Sampson, *Wells*, 17.

86 L.S. Colchester, *Wells Cathedral*, New Bell's Cathedral Guide (London: HarperCollins, 1987), 38.

87 Spurrell, 'Procession', 137; McAleer, 'Particularly English?', 9.

may have been conceived at Wells, in part, because the lower zone of the facade was based on the design of choir screens. The exceptionally small doors of the facade are about the height of doors in choir screens, which were sometimes decorated with bands of quatrefoils or angels.[88] A facade screens the nave as the choir screen does the choir, and singers often stood on top of choir screens.[89] The tradition of processions stopping for a station first in front of the facade and then before the choir screen, in fact, might have stimulated the idea for the facade's choir screen design. Within this context, the hymn of the *Gloria laus*, itself, which was often sung at the entrance to churches, could have suggested designing the passage at Wells, given that the *Gloria laus* implicitly identifies the boy singers as angels 'praising thee on high'. Hence, it was a logical step to locate the singers in an elevated passage concealed behind carved angels in a facade programme depicting the Heavenly Jerusalem.[90] Later, William Durandus (1230–96) developed this idea implicit in the *Gloria laus* hymn when he stated that 'the boys, who by their purity signify the angels, offer the hymn of praise with a joyful noise, with their faces turned as if they were meeting the Lord as he comes to open heaven ....'[91]

Having identified the passage above the central portal at Wells as the site for the boys singing the *Gloria laus*, let us integrate the rubrics and chant in the Sarum Missal with the processional stations described in the Wells ordinal in order to understand better the participants' experience. Following the blessing and the distribution of the palms in the choir, the shrine with relics was carried around the cloister on the south of the church, then around the lay cemetery to the west of the facade, up to the place of the first station where the deacon read the Gospel of Christ's entry (Matthew 21:1–9). Then three clerics facing the people sang the anthem and verse:

Behold, thy king cometh unto thee ...

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88 Malone, *Façade*, 119–27, 162–63, for additional similarities; Sampson, *Wells*, 179. The heights of the side doors are eight feet (2.4 metres), the centre doors twenty feet (6 metres).

89 E.K. Doberer, 'Die deutschen Lettner bis 1300' (PhD diss., University of Vienna, l946), 117; Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, 116. On the feast of the Purification of the Virgin in the Wells ordinal, there is a station before the rood in which verses are sung 'in the choir screen facing the people' ('in pulpito conversi ad populum').

90 Chadd, 'Ritual of Palm Sunday', 268, documents a long tradition for this station at the west door.

91 William Durandus, *Guilelmi Durandi rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, CCCM 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 323, lines 74–76: 'Significat id quod cantus et occursus illorum puerorum significabat; prefigurabat enim concursum et letitiam angelorum recipientium Christum in celum post resurrectionem ....'

> Hail, light of the world, king of kings, glory of heaven …[92]

The procession then moved off to the second station which was made before the door where 'boy choristers in an elevated place sang the *Gloria laus*':

> All glory, laud, and honour
> To thee, Redeemer, King,
> To whom the lips of children
> Made sweet Hosannas ring. [93]

Then, the choir below in response repeated the *Gloria laus* after each of the following stanzas sung by the boys:

> Thou art the King of Israel,
> Thou David's royal Son,
> Who in the Lord's name comest,
> The King and blessed One.
>
> The company of angels
> Are praising thee on high …
> Our praise and prayer and anthems
> Before thee we present
>
> The people of the Hebrews
> With palms before thee went;
> Our praise and prayer and anthems
> Before thee we present.[94]

After a third station at another door on the same side of the church,[95] the procession went to the west door (presumably the central portal) where the shrine was lifted up so that the procession could pass beneath it singing the response:

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92 *Sarum Missal*, ed. Legg, 95; *The Sarum Missal in English*, trans. Frederick E. Warren, 2 vols. (London: A. Moring, 1911), pt. 1, 222.

93 *Sarum Missal*, ed. Legg, 96; Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 29: 'secunda statio ante ostiu ubi pueri cantant Gloria laus …'; *Sarum Missal*, trans. Warren, pt. 1, 224, translates the *Gloria laus* hymn.

94 *Sarum Missal*, ed. Legg, 96. Following the stanza of the *Gloria laus*, the text states 'let the chorus repeat the same after each verse' ('chorus idem repetat post unumquem uersum'); *Sarum Missal*, trans. Warren, pt.1, 224–25, translates the following three stanzas.

95 See n. 76 above.

> As the Lord was entering into the holy city the children of the Hebrews proclaimed the resurrection of life, and with branches of palms, cried out: Hosanna in the Highest.[96]

The procession then entered into the church, where in front of the choir screen the fourth station was made and the following anthem was intoned:

> Hail, our King … Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Finally, all genuflected, entered the choir, and mass began.[97]

The fact that the rubrics of the Sarum Missal state that the *Gloria laus* was sung from an elevated position indicates that a heavenly source was always intended, but at Wells having carved angels in clouds appear to sing this hymn just overhead more dramatically signalled heaven and thus would have heightened the emotional response of those in the procession below. The chorus acknowledged the heavenly source of the music when they sang, 'All glory, laud, and honour to thee, Redeemer, King', in response to the boys' verse, 'the company of angels are praising thee on high', and this reciprocal dialogue united heaven and mankind in a shared joyful exchange. In addition, an angel carved in a quatrefoil on a buttress to the south of the portal once held a palm, as those in the Palm Sunday procession would have done, reinforcing the rapport between the earthly participants and the singing angels.[98] Above the busts of the angels, the statues of the blessed, enshrined in heavenly mansions, beneath a frieze depicting their resurrection, and Christ at the apex of the central gable created an elaborate *scaenae frons* that further confirmed heaven as the setting for the performance of the *Gloria laus* during the second station.[99]

Beneath Christ, the gable is pierced with eight *oculi*, which are accessed from a walkway on top of the facade wall at the level of the top of the nave vault hidden beneath the roof. The height of the *oculi* above the walkway is similar

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96 *Sarum Missal*, trans. Warren, pt. 1, 225–26, translated the following two stanzas.

97 *Sarum Missal*, ed. Legg, 96–97; Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, 116; Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 29.

98 Sampson, *Wells*, 257, states that the dexter hand of this angel holds a broken staff or martyr's palm, the top of which is lost. W.H. St John Hope and W.R. Lethaby, 'The Imagery and Sculptures on the West Front of Wells Cathedral', *Archaeologia* 59 (1904): 143–206, at 187, however, could still see that it was a palm.

99 Malone, *Façade*, 50; Sampson, *Wells*, 183. The figure of Christ, now in the museum at Wells, is a later replacement made when the towers were added in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, but the presence of the thirteenth-century mandorla indicates that such a figure existed earlier.

to the height of the upper *oculi* in the lower passage behind the quatrefoils.[100] Yet, because these openings are located 75 feet (23 metres) above the ground, the passage probably was not intended for singers: these splayed openings are 4 feet 2 inches (1.27 metres) deep, nearly twice the depth of the *oculi* for singers, and capable of accommodating a thirteenth-century trumpet with its bell hidden from the ground.[101] Although trumpets are not mentioned in any textual source, these *oculi* suggest that hidden trumpeters might well have announced the triumphant moment when the Palm Sunday procession, and perhaps other processions, entered the church. Because the *oculi* are located at the level of trumpeting angels carved at the top of the buttresses, the angels would have appeared to sound the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:2, the sculptural theme of the facade.[102] This fanfare may have stimulated the participants in the procession to anticipate, as part of the ritual experience on Palm Sunday, their final joyful entry into the Heavenly Jerusalem as they passed into the church, its earthly representation. A Palm Sunday sermon written around 1200 in a West-Saxon dialect, when describing this procession re-enacting Christ's triumphal entry into the city of Jerusalem, admonishes the participants 'to follow his holy earthly procession, that we may be in the holy procession which he will make with his chosen on Doomsday from judgement into heaven'.[103] En route to the culmination of the Palm Sunday ritual, eucharistic union with Christ and the eternal Church during the mass, the procession passed beneath relics and through the central portal. Above this portal the sculptural image of the Coronation of the Virgin visually presented the concept of the union of the faithful with Christ as the Church Triumphant; that is, the Heavenly Jerusalem descending as described in Revelation 21:2, a concept made

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[100] Sampson, *Wells*, 175–76, 283n269. The outside diameter of the *oculi* is 10 inches (25 cm), but they splay inwards to around 28 inches (70 cm). The walkway, which is on the top of the facade wall, is about five and a half feet (1.67 metres) below the centre of the *oculi*. Neither structural nor functional reasons warrant their presence, not even for ventilation. Shaped stone plugs survive on the walkway showing that the *oculi* were sometimes blocked. Sampson points out that the stairs in the towers remain very wide up to this level, perhaps for this liturgical purpose.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Malone, *Façade*, 51; Hope and Lethaby, 'Imagery and Sculptures', 163; Sampson, *Wells*, 187–88. The eight *oculi* are located between statues of the nine orders of angels, which are now fifteenth-century; however, it is likely that during the thirteenth century similar statues filled the niches.

[103] Malone, *Façade*, 138; *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, ed. Richard Morris, Early English Text Society, original series 53 (London: Early English Text Society 1873), 92.

familiar in the hymn, *Urbs beata Ierusalem*, which was sung, according to the Sarum Missal, during the annual rededication of the church (Figure 9.6).[104]

The design of the facade and its sculpture thus provide evidence that cannot be learned from textual descriptions about the performance of the Palm Sunday procession. Although the sculptural programme, as a representation of the blessed in the Heavenly Jerusalem, provided an appropriate backdrop for other processions and for burials in the cemetery of the laity, it would have created a sensational stage-set on Palm Sunday with angels in clouds singing the *Gloria laus* and angels on top of the buttresses trumpeting the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem at the end of time.[105]

Conclusion

Although it is impossible to know the reality of what actually happened during any one procession, the textual sources for liturgical processions at Saint-Bénigne and at Wells, in conjunction with the architectural design of these churches, makes it possible to visualize what probably was intended and did occur. Specific sites for the performance of certain chants can be inferred from the routes that processions would have taken between altars or stations described in the texts. This attempt to locate processions and chants in relation to their architectural frame allows one to envision not only the setting of a performance but also to a certain extent what the participants experienced. At Saint-Bénigne the presence of the rotunda's *oculus* indicates that a beam of light could have illuminated monastic processions, such as the re-enactment of Christ's presentation in the Temple, when the descending light would have dramatized his birth as the new light. At Wells the material evidence of a passage and stone megaphones helps to identify the location for singing the *Gloria laus* hymn and reveals how hidden musical accompaniment may have encouraged an emotional reaction that helped the participants anticipate their final joyful entrance into the Heavenly Jerusalem. Music is essential to the sacred experience of the liturgy and material light as a manifestation of divine light was fundamental to medieval church

[104] Malone, *Façade*, 46; *Sarum Missal*, trans. Warren, pt. 1, 414–21; *Sarum Missal*, ed. Legg, 202–4. In the Sarum Missal the Epistle for the feast of the Dedication cites Revelation 21:2: the 'new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband,' and the Sequences that follow discuss as a symbol for the triumph of the Church the marriage of Christ and the Virgin, His Bride; that is, the congregation of the faithful. The blessed city, Jerusalem, is built in the sky from living rocks and crowned by the angels as one promised in marriage for her husband; the New City descends from heaven prepared for her nuptials as a bride to join with God.

[105] For funerals see Malone, *Façade*, 141–43; Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, 128–30; Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 47–48.

design.[106] Both were always intended to engender a spiritual response, but, because of the unusual design of the rotunda at Saint-Bénigne, the resonance of light and chant created an exceptional setting for conveying the significance of the liturgy, as did the innovation of passages for hidden singers and trumpeters behind carved angels at Wells.

Our understanding of the ideal liturgy as presented in texts can thus be enhanced by visualizing its performance within the specific architectural context for which it was intended. When liturgical documentation can be paired with architectural and sculptural evidence, it is possible to suggest how the liturgy interacted with its material frame to engage the participants. Architecture and its sculpture were an integral part of the liturgical performance during the Middle Ages and can serve as evidence for past ritual in ways that texts cannot.

[106] Malone, *Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, 150–262, 271–73.

Chapter 10

Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices

Carol Symes

The study of medieval liturgy is largely dependent on surviving manuscript sources, but the nature of those sources and their bearing on the most fundamental aspect of liturgy – its enactment – is very difficult to reconstruct. We cannot assume that any written rite captures or prompts performance in a straightforward manner. The reasons for this include the low survival rate of the texts most often and most directly implemented in the course of worship, the dearth of explicit evidence for the ways such texts were used, the longevity of oral methods for transmitting information about performance, significant local and regional differences in the scripting of ritual activity, and changes in recording practices over time. Above all, our understanding of medieval liturgy is fundamentally fettered by the modern academic and confessional agendas that have manipulated and framed its study, beginning with the competing ideologies that shaped the concept of 'liturgy' during and after the Reformation, and continuing up to the present day in the retroactive designation of certain medieval texts as 'liturgical', 'paraliturgical' or 'non-liturgical'.[1] The very word 'liturgy' (in English and other European languages) came into use only in the mid-sixteenth century, at precisely the time when the parameters and meanings of religious ceremonial were at the heart of confessional controversies.[2]

Although the medieval vocabulary used to describe the wide parameters of religious worship was large and rich, it did not – at least in the Latin West – include the word 'liturgy'. The classical Greek *λειτουργία* meant, originally, the performance of any kind of public service or duty (religious, civic, military); it

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[1] The degree to which post-medieval editorial choices and scholarly chauvinism have shaped the study of medieval texts – while generating the modern genres and typologies to which these texts are assigned – has been the subject of intense critique by scholars in many disciplines for several decades. Yet this sort of scrutiny is only just beginning to inform the way we conceptualize and study such phenomena as medieval worship, preaching and dramatic performance. I address these issues in 'The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater', *Speculum* 77.3 (2002): 778–831 and 'A Few Odd Visits: Unusual Settings of the *Visitatio sepulchri*', in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance: Essays Dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 300–22.

[2] Lesley Brown, ed. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1:1608.

was later pressed into use by the translators of the Septuagint and the writers of the Greek New Testament, where it was associated with worship in the Temple.[3] But its Latin cognate, *liturgia*, appears nowhere in the Latin Vulgate Bible, the most important source of ritual language in Western Christendom. And there are only seven separate instances of its use in the corpus of Christian writings assembled in the *Patrologia Latina*, all of which signal its association with exotic, foreign rites.[4] 'Liturgy' is thus an anachronistic and rather unhelpful term that masks a wide spectrum of worshipful activities practised during the Middle Ages.[5] The difficulty of understanding the medieval sources that we

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[3] Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 'Introduction to the Liturgy of the Medieval Church', in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2001), 1–10, at 1.

[4] This was determined through a search for *liturgia* and its variants in the Patrologia Latina Database, which initially yields seventy-three mentions (in thirty-six entries), of which the majority occur in modern commentaries. (The less anachronistic word *ordo* and its variants, by contrast, yields some 18,614 mentions in 2,555 separate entries.) The seven authentic medieval references to 'liturgy' in this sample occur as follows: 1. in a Latin translation of a Greek letter sent by Pope Julius I (r. 337–52) to the followers of the schismatic bishop Eusebius of Emesa at Antioch (*PL* 8:896a); 2. in St Augustine's sermon on Psalm 135, referencing the Greek word for worship (*PL* 37:1757); 3. in a letter by Pope Leo I (r. 440–61) to Turribius, bishop of Asturia, condemning the heresies of the Priscillianists (*PL* 55:1041d); 4. in the laws of the Emperor Justinian relating to bishops and clerics in Constantinople (*PL* 72:1054c); 5. in the *Canons* of Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 955–c. 1010), where the term refers explicitly to debates at the Council of Nicea (*PL* 139:1471b); 6. in the *Opusculum* XII of Odorannus of Sens (c. 985– c. 1045), which is an important early source for the description of the Cluniac 'liturgical day' of constant prayer (*PL* 142:826a); 7, in Peter Lombard's commentary on the Corinthians I, where he is referencing Augustine (above) in the context of a discussion of idolatry (*PL* 191:1604c). To summarize: during the first thousand years of Christianity in the Latin West, the word 'liturgy' was sparingly used to refer to outlandish (Greek, heretical or pagan) practices of worship or – at Cluniac monasteries – as a consciously chosen marker of their own special commitment to the *opus Dei*. On the Cluniac liturgy, see Susan Boynton and Isabelle Cochelin, eds., *From Dead of Night to End of Day: The Medieval Customs of Cluny*, Disciplina monastica 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) and Chapters 9 in this book.

[5] It is important to note that many modern translators of medieval sources insert the word 'liturgy' or its variants into texts that use a different (larger and more specific) vocabulary. For example, Cyril Vogel uses the term five times in his translation of a short text (the preface to a famous sacramentary) which contains no such word: *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioeva, 1966); trans. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 87. The text in question, known by its *incipit* as the *Hucusque*, is appended to the Hadrianum in various ninth-century manuscripts; it has been edited in *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, ed. Henry Austin Wilson, HBS 49 (London: HBS, 1915), 145–46; and *Le sacrementaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, edited by Jean Deshusses, 3 vols., SF 16, 24, 28 (Fribourg: Editions

call 'liturgical' is further compounded by the ways that they have been selected, packaged and interpreted for hundreds of years. So while we may continue to use the word 'liturgy' and its variants, we must remain aware of their limitations and connotations.

These issues have already been underscored by the preceding contributions to this volume, which have also introduced the problematic connection between texts and performance.[6] The contributions in Part I deal with the challenges of interpreting primary materials and the necessity of placing these sources within a broader historical framework, raising many questions about how they would have been realized in performance. Those in Part II have critiqued the received understanding of prescriptive Uses and other compilations that were intended to dictate the parameters of performance. And those in Part III have investigated ritual performances that were clearly important and yet were not (for various reasons) fully documented.

This chapter places the nature of liturgical texts and their relationship to performance at the centre of inquiry. It argues that such texts often resulted from attempts to capture or control performance, by recording local practices in order to guard against faulty memories and to ensure future transmission, or by censoring innovations that were deemed unorthodox by replacing them with approved practices, or by eliding the differences among local variations in an effort to create a generic style of worship. The written records resulting from these efforts *might* have been carefully replicated in ritualized performances; but they might also have been resisted or altered. They must accordingly be analysed differently from modern liturgical books, dramatic scripts or musical scores. Such modern texts are usually the *points of origin* for performance and are furthermore accepted as establishing rules which are more or less binding on performers. By contrast, medieval liturgies often came into being as part of a compositional, performative and social *process*. This means that we must work both backward and forward from the moment of inscription in order to glimpse the activities that a particular text was designed to bolster, supplant or curtail. And we must bear in mind that these texts were often created at the behest of certain powerful people with specific agendas – and yet they were not always implemented in ways that conformed to those agendas. Furthermore, we must be on the lookout for sources and actors that have been dismissed or overlooked, but which deserve to be studied as liturgical. As research in performance theory and cultural anthropology suggests, we can make a useful distinction between

universitaires, 1971–82), 1:351–53. This 'supplement' used to be attributed to Alcuin, but Deshusses ascribes it to Benedict of Aniane.

6 See also the comments of Richard W. Pfaff, 'Liturgical Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, vol. 1: c. 400–1100*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 449–59.

the performance archive – a canon made up of carefully selected templates or recorded examples – and the living repertoire of performative possibilities: 'what people do in the activity of their doing it'.[7] This is why it is important to know as much as possible about the specific conditions in which a given source was generated, used and passed down to posterity.

In many cases, the very precision of a text describing liturgical performance practices should make us sceptical about what occurred in performance. For example, the famous *Quem quaeritis?* trope for Easter Matins was long regarded as the earliest instance of liturgical drama – a genre which allegedly came into being only in the late tenth century, when scripts like this begin to appear, scripts that insist on the decorous and uniform presentation of ceremonial performances. On the contrary, I have argued that this type of text reflects an effort to regulate an *existing* performance tradition which may have been more colourful and varied.[8] The trope's most famous exemplar actually proclaims this: the so-called *Regularis concordia* ('concordance of rules') was promulgated by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (r. 963–84) as part of an attempt to reform monastic worship in the realm of the Anglo-Saxon king, Edgar.[9] In addition to thinking about its relationship to performance, then,

7 Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory*, 2nd rev. edn. (London: Routledge, 2003), 1 and Schechner, 'Drama, Script, Theater, and Performance', in the same book, 66–111, at 68. See also Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Dennis Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); and Max Harris, *Carnival and Other Christian Festivals: Folk Theology and Folk Performance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

8 Carol Symes, 'The Medieval Archive and the History of Theatre: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance', *Theatre Survey* 52.1 (2011): 29–58. The germ of this argument can be found in O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965).

9 See the edition by Lucia Kornexl of *Die* Regularis Concordia *und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993), § 51. Susan Rankin's facsimile edition of a later version of this trope allows one to examine it within a manuscript that reflects the influence of the *Regularis concordia*: see *The Winchester Troper*, Early English Church Music 50 (London: Published for the British Academy by Stainer and Bell, 2007), fol. 26v. On the musical and codicological contexts of this trope, see Michel Huglo, 'Remarks on the Alleluia and Responsory Series in the Winchester Troper', and Susan Rankin, 'Winchester Polyphony: The Early Theory and Practice of Organum', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 47–58 and 59–99 respectively. On the possible sources and patterns of transmission affecting its inscription, see David A. Bjork, 'On the Dissemination of *Quem quaeritis* and the *Visitatio sepulchri* and the Chronology of Their Early Sources', *Comparative Drama* 14 (1980): 46–69; and Susan Rankin, 'Musical and Ritual Aspects of *Quem queritis*', in *Liturgische Tropen: Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus*

we need to think about its 'performativity': the functions it would have performed for those who made it, copied it and used it. We also need to think seriously about what role(s) it performed for those who later extracted it from the historical record and held it up for scrutiny as a liturgical prototype.[10] What this particular text of the *Quem quaeritis?* performs, most obviously, is Æthelwold's authority to impose this model.[11] The extent to which it was subsequently adopted, with or without amendment, is unclear; although the evidence of later manuscript witnesses suggests that it was implemented and modified in different ways according to different needs.[12] We also do not really know what practices it was intended to replace, although the fact that it insists on a quiet, measured, melodious ceremony may indicate that it was a reaction against unscripted, even boisterous, enactments; and that these (now lost) were what Æthelwold successfully suppressed. We might also conclude that this text's popularity among scholars stems from the way that it confirms modern expectations of what medieval liturgy should be: staid, formalized, boring.

As this brief case study demonstrates, we need to pose some essential questions as we seek to understand how any liturgical text may have been realized in performance by any given community on any given occasion.

- How did it become a text in the first place?
- Does the text predate a performance tradition, or does it respond to existing practices?
- Were performers likely to have followed it closely?
- If they did not, why was it made and kept?
- If they did, how did they make use of it?
- When did this text come to be designated as 'liturgical'? How have the interventions of later scholars reshaped its meanings?

Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984), ed. Gabriel Silagi (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1985), 181–89. Anselme Davril has argued that the first scripted version of this liturgy may ultimately derive from Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury): 'L'origine du *Quem quæritis*', in *Requirentes modos musicos: Mélanges offerts à Dom Jean Claire*, ed. Daniel Saulnier (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1995), 119–34.

[10] For a definition of 'performativity', see Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, eds., 'Introduction' to *Performativity and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 1–18, at 2.

[11] On reading for agency and performance in medieval texts, see Jody Enders, *Murder by Accident: Medieval Theater, Modern Media, and Critical Intentions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 3, 12, 113–14.

[12] For discussion of the subsequent use of the *Regularis concordia*, see Pfaff, *Liturgy*, 85–87; Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 120–28.

- Are there other – seemingly ‘non-liturgical’ – texts that are also relevant to the study of liturgy in the same place and time?

In general, as I will demonstrate below, the evidence suggests that medieval liturgical texts are apt to function as *prescriptive* templates for what should occur in performance (but might not), or as *proscriptive* documents dictating what should not occur (hinting at resistance and the existence of alternative variations). They are highly unlikely to be *transcriptions* of events.[13] That is, such texts tend to function as recipes do: those who need them may adhere to them, but renegades and experts will adapt, annotate or abandon them at will. How can we tell? In many cases, we cannot. Ingredients added to an established recipe may be left out by a later practitioner without any indication of this; or a practitioner may subtract or substitute ingredients without changing the written record to reflect that. Meanwhile, a collector of recipes may organize them in novel, idiosyncratic ways which may or may not correspond to the feasts for which they were intended. The key thing is to remain aware of the possibilities. In the following pages, we will take up the questions outlined above and explore their wider implications.

On the Erratic Survival of Liturgical Texts

Around the year 1119, an ambitious Norman cleric called Geoffrey de Gorron left his home diocese of Rouen to become a schoolmaster at the abbey of St Albans. Because his arrival in England was delayed, the post he had been promised was given to someone else. So Geoffrey opened a school in the nearby village of Dunstable and, perhaps in an effort to impress his erstwhile employers, taught his students to perform a play about St Catherine of Alexandria. It was the kind of play ‘which we commonly call “miracles”’, and the abbey loaned Geoffrey a number of ceremonial vestments in order to enhance the show.[14] Was this, then, a liturgical drama? Was there a script? The chronicler does not say. All we are told is that the borrowed vestments accidentally burned the night after the performance, and that the hapless Geoffrey pledged himself as a ‘burnt offering’ (*holocaustum*) to make amends for their loss. That is, he became a monk of St Albans. We only know about the incident because he eventually became abbot, so this sketch of his picaresque youth was included in the abbey’s history.

13 I adapt this terminology from the work of Gregory Nagy, *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 110–12. See also Symes, ‘Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays’, and ‘Medieval Archive’.

14 *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 3 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1897), 1:72–73: ‘quemdam ludum de Sancta Katerina – quem miracula vulgariter appellamus’.

This story illustrates two common fates that could befall the records of medieval performance, as well as raising other issues to which I will return. Scripts could easily be damaged or destroyed, but they might not be made at all; they might not even surface as anecdotes. The extant collections of medieval liturgical texts bear witness to this in various ways. Some are collections of *libelli* assembled and annotated by successive generations of users, thereby testifying to living traditions of performance in the communities that made these books.[15] But compositions that did not find their way into *libelli*, and those *libelli* not enclosed between covers, are likely to have perished.[16] This cannot be stressed too heavily, because it means that some of the most prevalent varieties of local liturgical practice may have disappeared from view; and by the same logic, those that we have now could have been those that were highly experimental, very occasional, or (literally) shelved as useless curiosities.

Testifying to the contemporary forces that have preserved only *some* texts for posterity is a memorandum written by Burchard of Michaelsberg (Bamberg, Germany) in the first half of the twelfth century. In it, Burchard announces that he has finally 'sorted through' the library's *diversis libellis* 'with a great deal of effort', because 'the slimness of the books made them seem less apt to be noticed, and because any small thing can so easily vanish by stealth or theft'. He then had all of these little booklets enclosed into 'four huge volumes'.[17] Burchard is talking mostly about individual saints' lives, *historiæ* and *passiones*, that were read on feast days and around which liturgies were created; we know that many of the texts supporting such liturgies were transcribed and kept in similar booklets. These sorts of liturgical manuscripts were often stored in the sacristy or cantor's room.[18] This means that (1) they were seldom included in a library catalogue

15 An excellent example is the so-called Durham Collectar: see Karen Louise Jolly, 'Dismembering and Reconstructing Ms. Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19', in *Scraped, Stroked, and Bound: Materially Engaged Readings of Medieval Manuscripts*, ed. Jonathan Wilcox (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 177–200.

16 Pierre-Marie Gy, 'The Different Forms of Liturgical "Libelli"', in *Fountain of Life*, ed. Gerard Austin (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1991), 24–34, at 26–27. See also Eric Palazzo, 'Le rôle des *libelli* dans la pratique liturgique du haut moyen âge: histoire et typologie', *Revue Mabillon* n.s. 62 (1990): 9–36; and Nils Krogh Rasmussen, with Marcel Haverals, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genèse du livre de l'évêque*, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense: Etudes et Documents 49 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998).

17 Karin Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1979), 184: 'congessit … magno labore … in quatuor magna volumina … quia parvitas librorum videbatur minus apta cernentibus, et facile porterat furto vel qualibet surrepcione perire res modica'. This example is also cited (but differently interpreted) by Palazzo, 'Le rôle des *libelli*', 10.

18 The library catalogue of the abbey of Schaffhausen (made between c. 1083 and 1096) notes that there are *alii libelli, quae* [*sic*] *in choro habentur*, and so these are not listed in the

like Burchard's and (2) never acquired the protective armour of a binding. It also means (3) that they were in constant use and (4) employed in the instruction of schoolboys or novices, further lessening their chances of survival.[19] It is telling that the librarians at Muri Abbey (Switzerland), writing in the twelfth century, lamented the loss of *libelli* 'which ought to be saved and better cared for and not destroyed'. Many were in such poor condition that they could not be deciphered and transcribed, to the detriment of the whole community.[20] These stray references remind us of the fragmentary nature of the surviving sources and allow us to glimpse some of the strategies that preserved certain kinds of texts – but not others.

The Discordance between the Codification of Liturgical Texts and Living Performance Practices

The earliest extant text in the Castilian vernacular is a sung processional for the feast of the Epiphany; it is now known as the *Auto de los reyes magos* (The Play of the Magi Kings). By dramatizing the heathen kings' journey towards enlightenment, it also advanced the aims of the 'Reconquista': a political, military and cultural campaign to 'reconquer' the lands of Christian Spain. Largely launched from Castile, the Reconquista eventually elevated the regional vernacular featured in the *Auto* to a position of prominence – while eradicating the Muslim kingdoms of medieval al-Andalus. This particular liturgical text was probably transcribed around 1200 at the behest of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada of Toledo (c. 1170–1247), a powerful proponent of the crusade against Muslims. Yet the text alone betrays nothing of its performative or political context. It preserves only enough information to serve as an aide-mémoire for experienced enactors: the words of the (sung) dialogue, but with no accompanying musical notation,

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inventory. See Gustave Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: M. Cohen et filium, 1885), 157 (no. 69).

[19] For example, three tattered *libelli* of the twelfth-century Latin comedy *Babio* (which would have been used to teach Latin verse and Roman mythology) were evidently used in the school of Lincoln Cathedral and were only saved from imminent destruction by being bound together: Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library, Ms. 105. For a liturgical *libellus* that was rudely dismembered and barely survived, see André Wilmart, 'Un livret bénédictin composé à Gellone au commencement du IXe siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 12 (1922): 119–33.

[20] Becker, *Catalogi*, 252 (no. 122): 'que oportet servare et meliorare et non destruere … quia nos non potuimus ea hic sigillatim describere. Libros autem oportet semper describere et augere et meliorare et ornare et annotare cum istis, quia vita omnium spiritalium hominum sine libris nichil est'.

rubrics or performance instructions of any kind.[21] Moreover, it is inexpertly copied onto the flyleaves of a 'non-liturgical' miscellany.

This text illustrates some of the motives that could undergird the collection of certain liturgical materials, as well as the frustrating (to us) partiality and often baffling locations of those materials. Although a great deal of effort has been expended on drawing up definitive taxonomies of medieval liturgical sources, these compendia do not help us to understand how such sources came into existence, and whether or not they reflect contemporary performance practices. Eric Palazzo has noted the need to pay 'special attention to the process that formed each of the liturgical books' that have come down to us, while carefully tracing 'the crucial passage from oral practice to the written document'.[22] Yet this passage was not teleological, as Palazzo suggests, and it was never complete. From the beginning, the notation that came to be called 'Gregorian' chant was designed to transmit aspects of a liturgical language – a grammar of worship – from which performers could select and combine elements. As Andrew Hughes has put it, '[w]hen the performance practice was written down, the fluid tradition had to be frozen into a fixed form'. But the singers who used these texts knew that the form was *not* fixed, and prided themselves on reviving and varying it.[23]

Although Carolingian initiatives aimed at codifying liturgical practices may have resulted in the eradication of many largely unscripted performance practices, this initiative was unevenly carried out and constantly productive of intriguing hybrids. It was not, as some have argued, a single-minded attempt at standardization.[24] The most prominent intellectual at Charlemagne's

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21 The manuscript is now Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitr. 5–9, fols. 67v–68r; it was originally Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, Cax-6, 8. For an edition and English translation, see Charles E. Stebbins, 'The "Auto de los reyes magos": An Old Spanish Mystery Play of the Twelfth Century', *Allegorica* 2 (1977): 118–43. I discuss this example in 'Medieval Archive'. See also Lucy Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 185–201.

22 Palazzo, *History*, xxx.

23 Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Music: The Sixth Liberal Art*, rev. edn. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 453–54, 460. See also Leo Treitler, 'Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music', *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471–91; and Treitler, 'Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing', *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 135–208. This 'new historical view of chant transmission' has been evaluated and tested by Peter Jeffrey with reference to the methods of ethnomusicology: *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). See also Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 360–78.

24 See Richard E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Age: Reflections on Its Place in the History of the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 64, no. 2 (1989): 267–306; Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage*

court, Alcuin of York (c. 740–804), says as much in an oft-cited (and often misinterpreted) letter to Archbishop Eanbald of York. In it, Alcuin gently chides his former schoolmate for worrying about the format and organization of *libelli* used in the performance of the mass: 'Can it be possible that you don't already have a very large number of ritual booklets arranged according to Roman custom? You certainly have more than enough of the older type in those big sacramentaries'. The task at hand, Alcuin said, was not to replace venerable traditions with new ones, wholesale, but to use all available resources to enhance the worship of God in the best possible way. At the same time, he recognized that few practitioners would want to do that sort of work themselves; hence the need for those willing to cull and combine available sources.[25]

Despite these initiatives, or in defiance of them, the making of books did not replace oral methods of creating, learning and circulating liturgical practices – especially in those liturgical powerhouses, monasteries.[26] It is significant that we owe our knowledge of liturgical education at Cluny in the eleventh century to the customary made by one of the few monks who had not been a child oblate there: because Ulrich of Zell had entered monastic life as a teenager, he envied his contemporaries' status as embodied repositories of liturgical knowledge gained through oral instruction and memorization over many years. He even couched his *ordo* in the form of a dialogue, since that was how liturgical knowledge was usually transmitted.[27] All of the systems of musical notation and textual transcription being developed at this time would have required personalized instruction to render them intelligible; they were not transparent. Experienced singers would also need to learn how to locate and 'combine the

of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877) (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001); Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002) and Chapter 1 in this book.

25 Alcuin, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), 370 (no. 226). 'De ordinatione et dispositione missalis libelli nescio cur demandasti. Numquid non habes Romano more ordinatos libellos sacratorios abundanter? Habes quoque et veteris consuetudinis sufficienter sacramentaria maiora. Quid opus est nova condere, dum vetera sufficiunt? Aliquid voluissem tuam incepisse auctoritatem Romani ordinis in clero tuo; ut exempla a te sumantur, et ecclesiastica officia venerabiliter et laudabiliter vobiscum agantur. Sed "Rari sunt adiutores" forte dicis.' On the rich resources of the library at York in this era, see Mary Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', in *Cambridge History of the Book*, 1: 633–64.

26 See the excellent collection of essays in Steven Vanderputten, ed., *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth–Thirteenth Centuries)* Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

27 Susan Boynton, 'Oral Transmission of Liturgical Practice in the Eleventh-Century Customaries of Cluny', in *Understanding Monastic Practices*, 67–83, at 71.

various elements of the office in the order of their performance', using multiple kinds of books.[28] In Ulrich's time, as Susan Boynton observes, 'the increasing dependence upon written materials in monastic liturgical and musical practice' meant that the office of the cantor and that of the *armarius* (librarian-archivist) became fused.[29] At the same time, in the words of David Hughes, the use of notation to record a community's traditions became 'a kind of defensive weapon by means of which a cantor could say, "Our way is the right way, *and we have this notated gradual to prove it*"'.[30]

Again, we note the absence of any one-way movement from text to performance, or replacement of performance by text. Continuing alongside efforts to preserve the liturgy in textual form was a strong tradition of creativity and improvisation in performance.[31] Tellingly, the classic example for the use of a liturgical *libellus* is a story about how St Sidonius Apollinarus, bishop of Auvergne (d. 489), easily performed a service without it, because the book was stolen.[32] He had probably compiled the text himself, as a mnemonic aid, and was more than familiar with its contents anyway.[33] Indeed, the ad hoc assembly of personalized liturgical materials was another practice that would continue alongside attempts to produce authoritative codifications. In

[28] Boynton, 'Oral Transmission', 81, 71. On text-based education, see Diane J. Reilly, 'Education, Liturgy and Practice in Early Cîteaux', in *Understanding Monastic Practices*, 85–114, at 99–107.

[29] Margot E. Fassler, 'The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation', *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29–51, at 46. See also Monika Otter, 'Entrances and Exits: Performing the Psalms in Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*', *Speculum* 83, no. 2 (2008): 283–302.

[30] David Hughes, 'From the Advent Project to the Late Middle Ages: Some Issues of Transmission', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music*, ed. Sean Gallagher et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 181–98, at 184.

[31] Hughes, 'From the Advent Project', 184. See also László Dobszay, 'Concerning a Chronology for Chant', in *Western Plainchant*, 217–29. On the persistence and control of improvisation, see Allan Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula: The Evolution of the Eucharistic Prayer from Oral Improvisation to Written Texts* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1981); and Thomas William Elich, 'Le context oral de la liturgie médiévale et le rôle du texte écrit', 3 vols. (Paris: unpub. PhD diss., Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1988). Paul de Clerck provides an overview that stretches from the second century to Vatican II: 'Improvisation et livres liturgiques: leçons d'une histoire', *Communauté et liturgie* 50 (1978): 109–26.

[32] Gregory of Tours, *Historiarum libri X*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SS rerum Merovingicarum 1.1 (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1951), 67 (II.22). See Gy, 'Different Forms', 27–28. Compare Palazzo, 'Le rôle des *libelli*', 13.

[33] Gennadius of Marseille (d. c. 496) mentions similar 'little books' (*libellum … parvum/ parvum volumen*) made by individuals for their own use: *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* in *PL* 58:1103a (c. 76) and 1104a (c. 79).

the eleventh century, the library of the abbey at Gorze (near Metz, modern France) included an anonymous meditation 'on how a priest should prepare himself beforehand to celebrate mass, written in a tiny little booklet'.[34] In the twelfth century, old-fashioned *libelli* were still being used to disseminate new services in honour of the Blessed Virgin and, in the thirteenth century, to popularize the feast of Corpus Christi or the *ordines* composed by Thomas Aquinas.[35] The liturgy was always a work in progress and no single set of practices or texts determined it.[36]

Despite such evidence, many scholars have wanted to see the ultimate triumph of a 'definitive form' of liturgical book, which would make earlier, 'embryonic forms' obsolete.[37] And while it is true that efforts to standardize the liturgy (and to enforce these standards) were more strenuous after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the subsequent manuscript tradition continues to register variations and adaptations.[38] Evidence of parallel, popular forms of liturgy shows little concern for conformity to 'official' templates, and Vogel himself was at pains to stress the variety of medieval liturgical practice – all the while working to create an elaborate textual fiction of uniformity.[39] In this, he shared the philological and editorial goals of his predecessors and contemporaries, who were heavily influenced by a Darwinian method of extraction and interpretation that was having an equally deleterious effect on the study of other medieval cultural artefacts.[40] The assumption that the liturgy develops through an 'evolutionary

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34 A. Wagner, 'Les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Gorze. Remarques à propos du catalogue', in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), 111–17, at 114: 'Qualiter vel presbyter se preparet ad missa celebranda in quaterniunculis scriptum'.

35 Palazzo, 'Le rôle des *libelli*', 23–24; Gy, 'Different Forms', 27–28.

36 This is underscored by the essays in John Haines, ed., *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

37 Palazzo, 'Le rôle des *libelli*', 25; Palazzo, *History*, 188.

38 Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995). See also Chapter 7 in this book.

39 He notes that 'liturgical uniformity was unknown in the Middle Ages' and that 'celebrants could pick and choose among the various options' of which they were aware: Vogel, *Introduction aux sources*, 4–5; cf. Eng. trans. *Medieval Liturgy*, 62, 135. Vogel's acknowledgment of the slippage between extant texts and actual performance is especially evident in his analysis (*Medieval Liturgy*, 87) of the so-called *Hucusque*, which describes liturgical practice in Rome (see note 5, above). This awareness also undergirds Vogel's discussion of 'Non-Roman Western Rites' that have been 'lost': *Medieval Liturgy*, Appendix II, 273. On Vogel's editorial practices see Chapter 4 in this book.

40 Symes, 'Appearance', and 'Manuscript Matrix, Modern Canon', in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7–22.

process' is still common.[41] So is the notion that medieval liturgical performance is 'well documented' and relatively transparent.[42] As Richard Crocker has argued, these convictions are (in part) a legacy of the influential Solesmes movement of the late nineteenth century, which adapted one type of medieval chant notation and held it up as the norm, making it hard to recognize 'signs of nuance' in liturgical manuscripts that do not adhere to this post-medieval standard.[43] It is therefore crucially important to re-assess what has been frequently misconstrued as a closed and closely regulated system. The making of liturgical texts occurred in the context of living liturgical practices that were neither fully reflected in texts nor confined to them.

On the Varied Reasons for the Textual Preservation of New or Unique Performance Traditions

The chancy survival of liturgical texts has already been stressed: we have noted how accident and negligence (on the one hand) or reliance on oral tradition and improvisation (on the other) can affect the frequency with which certain practices are preserved and the formats in which they are preserved. We have also observed that some kinds of liturgical texts, like the tropers of the tenth century, are not witnesses to the genesis of a practice so much as they are attempts to harness it. When trying to interpret any source it is therefore essential to ask *why it was created at all*, because the many different possible answers to that question will have a direct bearing on how a given text may (or may not) relate to performance. In this section, we will consider some of the motivations for inscribing liturgical practices.

Beginning in the eighth century, the invention and/or dissemination of more precise recording technologies enabled the preservation of older liturgical repertoires. These technologies, the precursors of musical notation, included new methods of *mise-en-page*, varieties of punctuation and rubrication and the creative use of neumes. On the one hand, their deployment could lead to the fossilization of a particular style or local use; on the other, they facilitated the transmission of novel compositions and could inspire experimentation.

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41 For example, Joanne Pierce, 'The Evolution of the *ordo missae* in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (New York: Garland, 1997), 3–24.

42 For example, Jeanne E. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, 'Manuscripts of the Liturgy', in *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 433–72, at 434.

43 Richard Crocker, 'Singing the *Nuance* in Communion Antiphons', in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium*, 453–60, and accompanying CD. This valuable account by a scholar-performer explains the process of interpreting and reproducing the sounds notated in a particular chant manuscript.

The multiple dimensions of this process make the difference between newer and older practices difficult to discern on the page; this is yet another reason to distrust evolutionary models of liturgical development, which frequently hinge on the creative redating of manuscript sources according to the prejudices of individual researchers.[44] 'Simple' rites are not necessarily earlier rites, and many of those that *seem* simple can mask hidden complexities. For instance, musicologists have observed that the performance of polyphony in some locales actually predates the thirteenth-century development of mensural notation (delineating rhythmic values) by at least two hundred years; these earlier methods for expressing polyphony in writing were 'hidden' and therefore unrecognizable to modern scholars until they were decoded in the 1960s.[45] Any type of notation has severe limitations, and medieval scribes often struggled to capture complex traditions or individual feats of virtuosic performance that were 'still well known but in danger of spiralling out of control', in the words of David Hiley.[46] (Anyone who has ever tried to transcribe or re-enact a jazz solo from a musical score will have experienced similar frustrations.) There was, in other words, no universal trend and no simple chronology of progress. While some monastic communities appear to have been resistant to novelty, clinging to older (unscripted) repertoires and ways of learning them, others were capable of generating and/or recording an extraordinary amount of material within a relatively short period of time.[47]

For many communities, liturgical innovation was a medium for confronting and processing internal and external changes. Liturgical texts therefore tend to appear and proliferate at times of crisis, either to create or to dramatize customs, identity, and claims to property. Susan Boynton and Margot Fassler have independently shown that the composition of liturgical texts was a way of making and writing history.[48] Nor was this strategy confined to powerful

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44 Symes, 'Appearance', and 'Manuscript Matrix'.

45 Symes, 'Appearance', 792–93. Pioneering studies include Judith Marshall, 'Hidden Polyphony in a Manuscript from Saint Martial de Limoges', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962): 131–44; and Sarah Fuller, 'Hidden Polyphony: A Reappraisal', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971): 169–92. See also Hendrick van der Werf, *Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*, 2 vols. (Rochester, NY: H. van der Werf, 1993), 1:155.

46 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 518.

47 Such as the abbey of Saint-Martial at Limoges: see Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie de sources du moyen âge occidental 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), 29.

48 Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Margot E. Fassler, *The Virgin of Chartres: Making History through Liturgy and the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

episcopal and monastic communities like Cluny, Chartres, Metz or Farfa; documentation was frequently generated by real or perceived threats to the survival of unique local practices in much smaller places. A case in point is the extraordinarily precise effort to safeguard the impressive and eclectic oeuvre of Hildegard of Bingen, an effort which can be tied to her nuns' resistance of censorship by local authorities, as well as to their awareness of her advanced age and the fear that her artistic legacy might die with her. As a result, the liturgical compendium known as the Riesencodex was probably copied under Hildegard's direct supervision in the years immediately before her death in 1179, at the age of 81. It was undertaken in the context of an ominous quarrel with the bishop of Mainz, who had placed the convent under interdict. Since Hildegard had probably devised liturgical ceremonies and music orally, the very novelty and flexibility of her compositions were inimical to their survival; if she and her nuns were going to outwit the male prelates, they had to beat them at their own game.[49] The resulting manuscript would have ensured that future performances of her works were based on an authorized text, and it may also have been intended as a posthumous source for the canonization dossier submitted to (and twice rejected by) the papal curia.[50]

This was not the only time that the imminent death of an inspired performer was the catalyst for record-making campaigns. In the 1160s, the monks of Durham Priory vied with one another to record the mystical vernacular songs spontaneously composed by the hermit Godric of Finchale (d. 1170), a former merchant-adventurer who claimed to have been taught to sing by the Virgin herself.[51] The resulting texts constitute the oldest extant notated songs in the English vernacular, inscribed at a time 'when very little musical notation is found outside the context of liturgical books' and when the status of 'English' itself was being renegotiated after the Norman Conquest. Helen Deeming has demonstrated that the manuscripts conveying these songs betray the difficulties of inscribing them – and of ensuring that they would remain firmly attached to

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49 The codex is now Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek Clm 2. See Albert Derolez, 'The Manuscript Transmission of Hildegard of Bingen's Writings: The State of the Problem', in *Hildegard of Bingen: The Context of Her Thought and Art*, ed. Charles Burnett and Peter Dronke (London: Warburg Institute, 1998), 17–28; and Margot Fassler, 'Composer and Dramatist: "Melodious Singing and the Freshness of Remorse"', in *Voice of the Living Light: Hildegard of Bingen and Her World*, ed. Barbara Newman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 145–79. Some of the materials in this codex were recycled by Hildegard in the final segment of her *Liber Scivias* (III.13), in which her divine revelations are accompanied by antiphons, responsory, prosæ and the *Ordo Virtutum*.

50 Hildegard did not achieve canonization until 2012.

51 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremitae de Finchale*, Surtees Society 20 (London: J.B. Nichols and Son [1847]), 117–20 (c. 50).

the saint's cult, and in the priory's control.[52] At least one of the saint's inspired performances was so intricate that it could not be replicated. As Reginald of Durham tells us, Godric once burst out in a joyful, nearly wordless melody that gradually resolved into the repetition of the phrase *Welcume, Simund* ('Welcome, Simon'), on which the aged singer improvised for a very long time. Reginald could only listen in wonder. Later, though, he could at least ensure that his *vita* of the saint took the form of a liturgical *libellus* suitable for performance.[53] The other contemporary manuscripts of Godric's songs also circulated as portable (but frail) booklets, and display marked evidence of annotation and use.[54] Some were probably lost or destroyed.

These examples show that we are often indebted to specific initiatives for preserving a precarious, locally prized liturgical corpus. And fundamentally, the very great difficulty of capturing liturgical – especially musical – performance in writing is a constant vein of anxiety running through our sources.[55] It even surfaces as a leitmotif in the various origin myths that purport to explain the dissemination of Roman chant in the eighth century. As Notker of Saint-Gall (d. c. 912) narrates the story, Charlemagne had requested that a dozen singers be dispatched from the papal choir to his court at Aachen, to teach their Frankish counterparts. But because the Roman emissaries were jealous guardians of their own traditions, they each taught the Franks a different, erroneous way of singing. When this subterfuge was discovered, the enterprising Franks went to Rome in disguise, where they listened carefully to the services in the papal basilica, memorized what they heard, and later wrote the chants down.[56] The young Mozart's legendary 'theft' of Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere* – on the basis of two hearings in the Sistine Chapel – falls neatly into this medieval tradition of liturgical *ars memoriæ* buttressed by the creation of texts.[57]

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52 Helen Deeming, 'The Songs of St Godric: A Neglected Context', *Music and Letters* 86 (2005): 169–85, at 169. On the persistence of post-Conquest English vernacular writing, see Elaine Treharne, *Living through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020–1220* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan, eds., *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

53 Reginald of Durham, *Libellus*, 306–9 (c. 161).

54 Julius Zupitza, 'Cantus beati Godrici', *Englische Studien* 11 (1888): 401–32.

55 On the situation in Anglo-Saxon England, see Susan Rankin, 'Music Books', in *Cambridge History of the Book*, 1, ed. Gameson, 482–506.

56 Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, ed. Hans F. Haefele, MGH SS rer ger n. s. 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), 12–15. This episode is discussed by Page, *Christian West*, 290 (among others). On the politics of chant dissemination see also Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 514–18; and Andrew Hughes, 'Charlemagne's Chant or the Great Vocal Shift', *Speculum* 77 (2002): 1069–1106.

57 This famously mystical setting of Psalm 51(50), composed in the 1630s, was supposed to be performed exclusively in the papal chapel at the service of Tenebrae (at the beginning

The historian Orderic Vitalis (d. c. 1142) opens a particularly vivid window onto the organic and haphazard ways that a community's liturgical repertoire could develop and the role that writing played in the process. He mentions that the liturgical office (*historia*) for his own abbey's patron, Saint Evroul, was first developed at the behest of Abbot Robert (r. 1040–61), who had refounded the monastery and accordingly needed to start a ceremonial tradition from scratch. So Robert asked Arnulf, a famous cantor of Chartres Cathedral, to create something for the saint's feast. Arnulf accordingly 'composed' an office: here, Orderic uses the verb *ediderat*, 'he pronounced' or even 'he brought forth'. This act of composition involved no writing, and it was transmitted from Chartres to Saint-Evroul by two young monks who had been sent to record Arnulf's singing of it, by hearing it sung and learning it by ear. These human recorders (chosen, as Orderic hints, because of their youth and faculties of retention) then conveyed the office orally to their brethren at Saint-Evroul, who must have continued to sing and transmit it from memory for at least a decade thereafter. We can infer this because Orderic says that it was not 'completed' (*perfecit*) until a new monk with formal scholastic training came to Saint-Evroul and 'set it down' (*condiderat*) along with other antiphons and responsories of his own. And yet this learned monk must also have been skilled at oral composition, too, because he simultaneously 'brought forth' (*edidit*) many lovely chants which were later preserved in the abbey's troper and antiphonary, presumably by someone else.

Orderic's use of different verbs invites us to distinguish among various modes of liturgical invention. In this same passage, he says that a novel responsory 'was sung by' a certain Reginald, implying that he was the instrument for its creation, and that this Reginald had also 'brought forth' (*ediderat*) some antiphons. Still other monks 'dictated' (*dictaverunt*) hymns that were eventually preserved in the library of Saint-Evroul, implying some sort of collaboration between gifted musicians and the scribes who made *libelli*.[58] Orderic's pride in his abbey's liturgical repertoire is therefore compounded by his pride in the technical skills that preserved it. His own *historia* is, in essence, a gigantic extension of the liturgical office (*historia*) that had crystallized around the monastery's patron

of the Holy Week Triduum) and again on Good Friday. Mozart's feat was to transcribe it from memory on the basis of a single hearing, with a return visit to check the accuracy of his text. See Ilias Chrissochoidis, 'London Mozartiana: Wolfgang's Disputed Age and Early Performances of Allegri's *Miserere*', *The Musical Times* 151, no. 1911 (2010): 83–89.

58 Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80), III.3 (vol. 3, 108), my translation. Chibnall notes that there is a twelfth-century neumed troper from Saint-Evroul in the Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. latin 10508.

saint.[59] (As noted above, the work of the cantor and that of the historian were often undertaken by the same person.[60]) Orderic's massive *Ecclesiastical History*, accordingly, may have begun as a modest *libellus* before it metastasized into our best source for the events of its author's lifetime – a source which incidentally illuminates some of the reasons for the written preservation of liturgical performance practices.

The Use of Liturgical Texts in Performance

It might seem to go without saying that texts were used in the course of liturgical performances. But *how* were they used? Was any given text *required* for the successful enactment of the ritual, either as a script or as a memory aid? Or was it merely *incidental*, a kind of stage property? Exploring the answers to such questions can be revealing. In many cases, surviving liturgical manuscripts offer visual clues designed for performers, suggesting that such instructions were necessary: eye-catching rubrics describing gestures and bodily postures, careful formatting, clear notation, meticulous correction of musical or textual errors. Sometimes the very size of manuscript books indicates how they were used. For example, the large-format volumes that came into use in the later Middle Ages were meant to serve a new class of professional: non-monastic singers who were not trained to perform from memory – who had to 'sing unto the Lord a new song' they had only just learned.[61] But at other times, texts were used in performance even if they were not necessary. A seasoned celebrant of the mass, especially one with the prodigious memory of a medieval religious, would hardly have needed a script to prompt his daily observances. And yet books containing the mass were ubiquitous because they helped to validate the rite's sanctity, whether these were large and gorgeously bejewelled sacramentaries or humble missals. For similar reasons, the text of the *Exultet* sung at the Great Vigil of Easter retained (at least in some regions) the ancient

59 Fassler, 'Office of the Cantor'. See also her essay, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert A. Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 149–71. On the close connection between institutional memory, history, and the liturgy more generally, see her *Virgin of Chartres*.

60 Michel Huglo, 'Codicologie et musicologie', in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai: dicata MCMLXXIX*, ed. Pierre Cockshaw et al., 2 vols. (Ghent: E. Story-Scientia, 1979), 1: 71–82; Fassler, 'Office of the Cantor'.

61 Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 392 and 418–21 (plates); Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008). The illuminated miniature accompanying Psalm 96 in such manuscripts is often a *mise-en-abîme* of this scene.

form of the scroll, often elaborately illuminated.[62] This had everything to do with its visual impact in performance and almost nothing to do with the deacon's own needs, since the words and melody of that chant would have been familiar to any cantor from childhood.

By contrast, the ivory covers of a *libellus* belonging to the Swiss abbey of Pfävers (made c. 1030, but otherwise unidentified) remind us that some very specialized rites would definitely require a script that could also be a pleasing theatrical object.[63] The elaborate service for the dedication of a church, to take an obvious example, would have been one that relatively few bishops would have performed routinely over the course of their pontificates.[64] Most would need a text. Accordingly, some prelates may have preferred a book whose slim size would make it easily portable during a long and intricate performance: a book like the ivory-covered *libellus* of Pfävers. Moreover, because a new church might be far away from the bishop's city, a pocket-sized *libellus* would leave more room in overstuffed saddlebags for vestments, mitre, crozier, relics and other accoutrements.[65] The so-called Pontifical of Lanalet (probably made for the abbey of St Germans in Cornwall, in the early eleventh century) allows us to glimpse such a *libellus* in action. It features a full-page image of a moment from the consecration ceremony – the bishop at the door of the church, backed by clergy and surrounded by a crowd of parishioners – as well as an image of a praying bishop reading from a *libellus* held open by an acolyte (see cover image).[66] *Dedicatio* manuscripts also exhibit design elements that would have guided overworked prelates in the successful execution of this long and demanding ritual. A twelfth-century pontifical from Ely (England)

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62 On the decoration of these *rotulae*, see Palazzo, *History*, 78–79.

63 Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1967), 1:75 (no. 68). Palazzo expresses surprise that a 'humble *libellus*' would be bound in ivory: 'Le rôle des *libelli*', 17.

64 On the mechanics and performance of this rite, see the essays edited by Didier Méhu, *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'occident médiéval* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007) and Chapter 8 in this book.

65 An example of such a book is London, British Library, Additional Ms. 82956: this is an early eleventh-century sacramentary from Noyons with various additions (including an excommunication formula) made by or for a bishop, which has been identified as a 'saddle book' based on its dimensions (long and thin) and size (portable). I am grateful to Sarah Hamilton for bringing this codex to my attention. On the practical usage of pontificals, see Richard Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and His Book', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 81 (1999): 3–24.

66 Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 368, fols. 2v and 1v, respectively. See Eric Palazzo, *L'évêque et son image: L'illustration du pontifical au moyen âge* (Turnout: Brepols, 1999), 318–20 and fig.14; and Palazzo, 'L'illustration des livres liturgiques autour de l'an mil', in *L'Europe de l'an mil*, ed. Pierre Riché (Saint-Léger-Vauban: Zodiaque, 2001), 291–307.

includes very explicit instructions for performing a key aspect of the rite: the act of intoning the letters of the Greek alphabet while tracing them in sand sprinkled on the floor of the church. The book carefully notes that the bishop should begin at the eastern (left) corner and work toward the western (right) corner. A later hand, anxious lest this not be entirely clear, has noted in the margin that the eastern corner is also the 'NORTH CORNER'. Helpfully, too, the rubrics not only supply the letters of the Greek alphabet but also provide a key to their pronunciation.[67] Yet no such aid is needed for the Latin alphabet, to be intoned and inscribed from the opposite corners, and which every bishop had internalized: hence even the most complete liturgical books may leave out information that was commonly known.

Alongside all of the other performative dimensions outlined in this chapter, these examples indicate that examination of the actual manuscript of a medieval liturgical text should be a key component of any investigation, as should informed speculation as to its possible uses in the context of performance. If large and heavy, a liturgical book would need to rest on a lectern. If no lectern was available, it would need to be hefted by a sturdy deacon, which means that we can infer the need for other liturgical actors from the size of the book alone. In the ninth through twelfth centuries, the possession of a large Bible would be symbolic of a community's commitment to liturgical reform: not only were these books costly, their purpose was to ensure that no scriptural readings were omitted, especially from the Night Office. The larger size of their script also made readings and chanting by candlelight easier, while their distinctive illuminations would have assisted readers in remembering individual readings and could even have been glimpsed by listeners while open on the lectern.[68] By contrast, a small Bible or missal conveyed different messages. Fitting into a pocket or a palm, it might never be opened in the course of the service; the writing would be too small to read anyway, in a dim church. The mere presence of the book was important.[69] This can often be confirmed by a worn binding coupled with a pristine interior. Indeed, assumptions about the influence of some liturgical texts may need to be subjected to fresh scrutiny when these manuscripts show no signs of use. If the St Albans Psalter was made for the anchoress Christina of Markyate (c. 1096–c. 1156), any argument for its influence on her spiritual

[67] Cambridge University Library Ll. 2.10, fol. 19r: 'ANGULO AQUILO'. A plate is reproduced in Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 424–25.

[68] Diane J. Reilly, 'Lectern Bibles and Liturgical Reform in the Central Middle Ages', in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 105–25.

[69] See Huglo, *Les livres*, 75 and 124–25.

practices is complicated by the fact that she does not seem to have looked at it very carefully, if at all.[70]

In addition to scrutinizing individual liturgical texts for information about their use in performance, it is also worth considering the liturgical roles played by other texts that frequently functioned as liturgical objects or ritual scripts. Chief among these are charters and other legal instruments, which were frequently negotiated, sealed, read aloud, and displayed in churches, on altars, and carried in processions.[71] Monastic cartularies and chronicles (like Orderic's *historia*) were also exhibited and read in the course of liturgical ceremonies on certain occasions. Like the services in which they featured, they represented the patrimony of a religious house. Domesday Book, that vast repository of data assembled at the behest of William the Conqueror in 1086, was another text displayed and treated in this manner. For whatever the original purposes underlying its making, its two volumes functioned as impressive ceremonial artefacts, more so than as legal or administrative documents.[72] The important role of ritual in most medieval claims to property or rights, and in the settlement of disputes, means that liturgy would often help to frame such transactions, especially those involving an oath.[73]

As important as liturgical texts undoubtedly were, then, the evidence we have gathered so far shows that their role(s) in performance would be conditioned by many factors. Some books and *libelli* may never have appeared in a church; they were instructional or memorial aids. Others would have been carried into church, but never opened. Still others might have been needed to prompt certain

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70 It is now Hildesheim, Dombibliothek Ms St. Godehard 1. This argument is put forward most forcefully by Jane Geddes, *The St. Albans Psalter: A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London: British Library, 2005).

71 See the articles in Marco Mostert and P.S. Barnwell, eds., *Medieval Legal Process: Physical, Spoken, and Written Performance in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), esp. Bernhard Zeller's 'Writing Charters as a Public Activity: The Example of the Carolingian Charters of St Gall' (27–37), Charles Insley's 'Rhetoric and Ritual in Late Anglo-Saxon Charters' (109–21), and Michael H. Gelting's 'Circumstantial Evidence: Danish Charters of the Thirteenth Century' (157–95). A particularly evocative description of a charter's ceremonial making and meaning is Geoffrey Koziol's 'A Father, His Son, Memory, and Hope: A Joint Diploma of Lothar and Louis V (Pentecost Monday, 979) and the Limits of Performativity', in *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'Performative Turn': Ritual, Inszenierung und Performanz vom Mittelalter bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2003), 83–103.

72 Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 156, 164–65.

73 See, for example, Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging, Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); Warren Brown 'Charters as Weapons. On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record', *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002): 227–48.

performers at certain times, and afterward laid aside. Within each book, text, rubrics, notation, illuminations and other features may have been absolutely essential to the performance of a rite – or merely incidental, decorative. Every text was designed for a particular context, user or audience. Every text therefore includes and omits certain kinds of information. Moreover, liturgical texts are not the only sources of information for the ways liturgies were conducted, nor were they the only texts featured in religious rituals. We might even begin to wonder whether we can always tell which texts are liturgical ones.[74]

On the Difficulty of Determining What Is and Is Not a 'Liturgical Text', and the Possible Benefits to be Gained from Expanding Our Definition

As I noted at the outset, we have inherited an anachronistic and narrow idea of what 'liturgy' is. 'The liturgy' is usually conceptualized as a set of fixed, 'top-down' directives issued by a monolithic authority. There are many compelling reasons to challenge and expand that conventional understanding. We can go back to the Greek verb *λειτουργέω*, 'to perform public service', or the basic elements of the noun *λειτουργία*: 'people' (*λεώς*) and 'work' (*ἔργον*).[75] Liturgy is the public work of a particular group of people, the shared performances that comes to define that group. By this definition, not every kind of liturgy propagated by clerical authorities was relevant to every community, or adopted by every community in a uniform manner. At the same time, every community had its own liturgical formulae – some scripted, some not. In the course of the eleventh century, for example, many of the miracles recorded at the shrine of Sainte-Foy at Conques witness successful resistance to the 'reforming' efforts of foreigners from Cluny or Rome, on the part of laypeople and the shrine's monastic custodians. They also show 'how many ritual activities [were] performed by non-specialists' and 'how unmarked the boundary [was] between "official" liturgical practice and what might be considered paraliturgical or even non-liturgical activities'.[76] Now, clearly, this is a special case: the monks and people of Conques were in an unusually strong position to assert and protect their own community's traditions, given the extraordinary powers accorded to their saint. They were also equipped to ensure that their efforts to safeguard her cult were recorded for posterity in writing. But these caveats merely underscore the fact that less

[74] See Chapter 6 in this book.

[75] C. Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definitions', in *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 695–714, at 698. See the definition of 'liturgy' in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 356.

[76] Flanigan et al., 'Liturgy as Social Performance', 699.

powerful communities might have had no less valued traditions, even if they are now obscured from view.[77] How might we go about recovering them?

We might begin by looking for alternative sources of information, in sources both familiar and strange.[78] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, for instance, seems to serve no obvious liturgical function; but it does include many narratives of miracles and conversions that could derive from older homilies, *historiæ* or liturgical *lectiones* prepared by his predecessors. Moreover, his famous story of Cædmon's hymn is a story about how vernacular song was 'converted' to Christianity in England, along with its inhabitants. As Bruce Holsinger has shown, the song was formally constructed and received by contemporaries as a hymn. A later Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede's entire history even seems to have been used as a liturgical book.[79]

We might also ask 'What constitutes a liturgical text?' That is, we can become better sensitized to recognizing *as* liturgical an array of texts that have been misidentified or passed over due to the assumptions of modern scholarship.[80] The correspondence of the philosopher and teacher Peter Abelard (c. 1079–1142) and his former pupil and wife, Heloise (d. 1164) is a striking example. These letters have inspired prurient fascination since the end of the thirteenth century, when they were construed by later readers as private admissions of hypocrisy, arrogance and frustrated passion. (Even arguments alleging the letters' inauthenticity rest on this key assumption.[81]) But as Morgan Powell has argued, the correspondence was probably crafted or revised for contemplative, structured reading at the convent the couple jointly founded, and at its half-dozen daughter houses. So, far from being an exposé of illicit love, these letters

[77] For an example, see Pamela Sheingorn and Kathleen Ashley, '*Discordia et lis:* Negotiating Power, Property, and Performance in Medieval Sélestat', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26 (1996): 419–46.

[78] Perhaps the best study of the way that liturgical performance pervaded and shaped a single urban locale in its totality is Susannah Crowder's 'Performance Culture in Medieval Metz, c. 200–1200', unpub. PhD diss., (City University of New York, 2008).

[79] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 4.24 (pp. 414–17). See Bruce Holsinger, 'The Parable of Caedmon's *Hymn*: Liturgical Invention and Literary Tradition', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 106 (2007): 149–75. On the liturgical uses of other Old English works, see Holsinger, 'Liturgy', in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches*, ed. Strohm, 295–314, at 301. See also Christopher A. Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum* 73 (1998): 659–702; and also his 'Performing Christianity: Liturgical and Devotional Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 427–50.

[80] This point is also stressed by Helen Gittos: see Chapter 1 in this book.

[81] For a brief summary of the letters' historical reception and interpretation, see M.T. Clanchy, 'The Letters of Abelard and Heloise in Today's Scholarship', in *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. Betty Radice, rev. edn. (London: Penguin, 2003), lviii–lxxxiv.

were supposed to be didactic, inspirational and liturgical.[82] They narrate how a new monastic rule for women was devised by the founders of the Paraclete, and they dramatize the often painful process of worldly renunciation that any female postulant would need to undergo. Couched in an epistolary and dialogic format, featuring passages of brilliant lyricism, they draw upon well-known Biblical and patristic genres that had already been thoroughly integrated into the liturgy: the Psalms, the Song of Songs, the letters of St Paul and St Jerome, the *Confessions* of St Augustine.[83] Like the body of hymns and songs jointly composed by Heloise and Abelard, they would have formed the basis of ritual life within a new religious order.[84] We can appreciate their significance only if we expand our understanding of medieval liturgy.

That understanding could further profit from embracing the vastly important activity of preaching, which took place in every conceivable venue, reached every stratum of society, and generated a relatively large amount of documentation. Even more vitally, it should take account of the liturgy's 'formal, authorial and economic impact' on all vernacular literature, much of which could be considered relevant to the history of liturgy's reception and practice.[85] How might the study of the liturgy be transformed if we consider the enormous archive of writings that would have supported family prayers, private devotions and daily worship in household chapels? Devotional texts in the vernacular, as well as Latin prayerbooks, proliferate from the thirteenth century onward and continued to do so after the advent of print. Indeed, rather than standardizing the liturgy, the late medieval printing press created a still larger array of genres and opened up new markets for them. As Holsinger notes, there are more liturgical texts (in English and in Latin) among the surviving incunabula from the British Isles

[82] Morgan Powell, 'Listening to Heloise at the Paraclete: Of Scholarly Diversion and a Woman's Conversion', in *Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-Century Woman*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 255–86.

[83] A recent translation of the letters renders the meter and rhythm of Heloise's literary *cursus*, thereby helping to make their performative character more apparent: *Abelard and Heloise: The Letters and Other Writings*, trans. William Levitan (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2007).

[84] Susan Boynton, 'Religious Soundscapes: Liturgy and Music', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, vol. 4: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 238–53, at 240–43; David Wulstan, '*Novi modulaminis melos*: The Music of Heloise and Abelard', in *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002): 1–23; Constant Mews, 'Heloise and Liturgical Experience at the Paracelete', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11 (2002): 25–35; Marc Stewart and David Wulstan, *The Poetic and Musical Legacy of Heloise and Abelard: An Anthology of Essays by Various Authors* (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 2003).

[85] Holsinger, 'Liturgy', 296.

than there are works by classical, medieval or early modern authors *combined*.[86] Deepening and extending our research on medieval liturgy entails reconsidering *what liturgy was* and where the sources for it might be found.

Concerning the Evidence for Lay Liturgical Performance

Reckoning with the usually unscripted role performed by the laity at different times and in all regions of Christendom is yet another important task for future scholars of the medieval liturgy. Nor is this a task limited to the study of the later Middle Ages. Rosamund McKitterick reminds us that the liturgy of the Carolingian Reform was above all a mode of instruction, aimed at the conversion of pagan tribes subjugated by Charlemagne, but also at the consolidation of a wider community. The presence, engagement and responses of the laity were crucial to this endeavour and to the formation of Western Christendom.[87] If this is not explicit in surviving texts, it is because the makers of those texts were trying to promote the interests and authority of a small class of professionalized clergy.

Occasionally, though, early sources do allow us to glimpse some of the forms that lay participation could take. Although the use of the vernacular is not necessarily a marker of lay practice or outreach, it is instructive that the earliest surviving liturgical dramas with vernacular elements witness efforts to formalize the liturgical role of local dialects which may have featured in worship services for a long time, and to reframe certain Biblical stories or characters in immediate, effective ways.[88] It is also significant that the earliest vernacular songs tend to be preserved in liturgical manuscripts.[89] This may be related to the ways that popular performance traditions crystallized, very early on, into some of the most canonical of liturgical texts. Edward Foley has noted that ancient dialogic responses were included in the Ordinary of the Mass due to congregational demand, and that many processional chants in Latin have absorbed 'popular

[86] Holsinger, 'Liturgy', 300.

[87] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 115–54.

[88] The *Ludus de Passione* (Passion Play) of Benediktbeuern (c. 1250) is a particularly good example. See Peter Loewen, 'The Conversion of Mary Magdalene and the Musical Legacy of Franciscan Piety in the Early German Passion Plays', in *Speculum sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. Georgiana Donivan et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 235–58.

[89] For example, the earliest Occitan songs are preserved in a liturgical manuscript from the abbey of Saint-Martial at Limoges (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France Ms. latin 1139) and the oldest extant Anglo-Norman text, the *Chanson de saint Alexis*, survives in the Saint Albans Psalter. See Symes, 'Appearance'.

religious songs' and carols.[90] John Haines has argued that vernacular song, often unwritten, was a vital part of devotional music-making throughout the premodern period.[91] Els Rose has shown that the early Latin of the mass was *not* an elevated, 'hieratic' language designed to remove the sacred liturgy beyond the realm of everyday speech; on the contrary, early regional missals show that vocabulary and syntax reflect common speech.[92] Although many diocesan and provincial synods would try to suppress vernacular elements in the liturgy from time to time – just as they tried to maintain clear distinctions between clerics and laymen – these efforts were often fruitless.[93] We have already noted Godric of Finchale's celebrity status among the monks of Durham Priory.

In fact, most laypeople would have been liturgical practitioners at one time or another in their lives. Although some couples would have entered into informal partnerships that were recognized as legal marriages without the public exchange of vows, many communities and nearly all propertied families would have insisted on a solemn church ceremony. In any case, marriages vows (even clandestine ones) constituted a sacramental rite that was canonically valid regardless of clerical involvement.[94] The baptism of infants was another sacrament that could be performed by laypeople because of its crucial importance for the salvation of the newborn soul; and it was usually done by women, especially midwives. In at least some regions, by around 1200, parents of both sexes were being instructed in the wording of the rite, using either the Latin words (*ego baptizo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti*) or their vernacular equivalent.[95]

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90 Edward Foley, 'The Song of the Assembly in Medieval Eucharist', in *Medieval Liturgy*, ed. Larson-Miller, 203–34.

91 John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 116–43. He also calls for a new history of music (and the liturgy) that eschews the 'great man' grand narratives still prevalent.

92 Rose thus argues against the influential work of Christine Mohrmann; for example, *Liturgical Latin, Its Origins and Character; Three Lectures* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1957). For a summary of her findings, see Els Rose, 'Liturgical Latin in Early Medieval Gaul', in *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular Languages in the Earlier Middles Ages*, ed. Mary Garrison, A.P. Orbán and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 303–13.

93 Foley, 'Song of the Assembly'.

94 John K. Leonard, 'Rites of Marriage in the Western Middle Ages', in *Medieval Liturgy*, ed. Larson-Miller, 165–202; Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 173–74. On the formal and informal modes of marriage formation – and the complications that often arose from the practical application of canon law – see Charles Donahue, Jr., *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages*: *Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

95 Kathryn Taglia, 'Delivering a Christian Identity: Midwives in Northern French Synodal Legislation, c. 1200–1550', in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter

Funeral services were also overwhelmingly organized by laypeople and, from at least the twelfth century onward, the formulation and enactment of elaborate commemorative liturgies was central to the mission of urban confraternities.[96] In the wealthy Franco-Flemish city of Arras, the oldest of such confraternities provides a particularly striking example of laity-driven liturgy. This charitable fellowship was formed by an alliance of jongleurs (professional entertainers) and townspeople, and it became one of the most powerful religious and social institutions in the region. The confraternity's spiritual authority derived from its possession of the Sainte Chandelle, a candle legendarily bestowed on its founders by the Blessed Virgin; its wax, when mixed with water, was believed to heal the terrible burning sensations caused by the convulsive and gangrenous disease of ergotism (also known as Saint Anthony's Fire). This cult, fostered by the Carité de Nostre Dame des Ardents ('the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Burning Ones'), was officially sponsored by the bishop of Arras and, by the middle of the thirteenth century, received papal approval. Until the time of the French Revolution, it was at the centre of an annual cycle of urban celebrations supported by diocesan clergy and also by their local rivals, the monks of the abbey of Saint-Vaast. These rites attracted pilgrims from all over Europe, and secondary relics of the holy candle were used to found chapels throughout Flanders, Brabant and Wallonia. A few of the texts drawn up by the confraternity survive and can be used to reconstruct its liturgy: they include Latin and vernacular versions of the foundation legend and subsequent Marian *miracula*, a set of protocols for the conduct of funerals, a memorial register of the dead (maintained over a period of 167 years and listing the names of over 10,500 individuals), and an *ordo* partially describing the preparations for a major annual feast. It is largely thanks to the precocious vernacular literacy of Arras that we know something about how these liturgical activities became central to the spiritual and civic lives of many thousands of laypeople over a period of at least five hundred years. Yet explicit evidence for them is hard to find in the conventional liturgical sources generated by the abbey or cathedral; we need to look in other places. When we do, we begin to discern – with a sense of irony – that the jongleurs' methods were being copied by the most mainline establishments in Arras. In 1308, the monks of Saint-Vaast even translated portions of their venerable liturgical ordinal into the local Picard vernacular, as part of a larger project that encompassed popular preaching. Their obvious goal was to compete with

Biller and Joseph Ziegler (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 77–90; Symes, *Common Stage*, 173.

96 Lester K. Little, *Liberty, Charity, Fraternity: Lay Religious Confraternities in Bergamo in the Age of the Commune* (Bergamo: P. Lubrina, 1988), 57–81. For a general overview, see Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France, XIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris: A. Michel, 1994).

the populist approaches of the mendicant orders, using the techniques of popular entertainers.[97]

The widely held notion that laypeople were excluded from meaningful participation in religious rites derives in part from the successful propaganda of some medieval authorities, but it has been even more effectively propagated since the middle of the sixteenth century. Once again, it is to the modern era that we owe the myths that there was no communal singing in churches before the Protestant Reformation, or that the vernacular did not come into liturgical use within the Catholic Church until after the Second Vatican Council (1962–65).[98] Recent scholarship strongly demonstrates that the liturgical roles of the medieval laity require significant re-assessment. While we will never be able to overcome the gap between the mostly canonical texts we have and the wider world of liturgical practice, a more holistic and critical engagement with the evidence is in order, and could yield a good deal of fresh evidence.

In Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the problematic relationship between medieval texts and contemporary performance practices in the many contexts that could be considered 'liturgical'. It has insisted that the recognition of this relationship *as* problematic is a very fruitful place to begin any inquiry. It calls for a fresh evaluation of extant sources and an expansion of efforts to find new ones. It urges researchers to pay special attention to the possible performance dynamics of particular communities at particular times, to investigate the extent to which local authorities sought to influence or control these dynamics, and to question whether those participating in the liturgy relied on literate forms of communication at all, or to what extent. It insists on asking what kinds of information liturgical manuscripts were intended to convey, and how enactors would have used that information. It maintains that such questions will empower us to learn more about even well-known sources, including those that have long been regarded as canonical and which seem impervious to new interpretations. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, it holds out hope that this approach will help us to locate texts that have been ignored or overlooked, while allowing us to access extra-textual or contextual evidence that can further assist in apprehending what occurred in performance. We need to know this, because we

97 Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 230. It has been edited by Louis Brou as *The Monastic Ordinale of St.-Vedast's Abbey, Arras*, 2 vols, HBS, 86–87 (London: HBS, 1957). See Symes, *Common Stage*, 68–126 and 171–72.

98 Foley, 'Song of the Assembly'; Flanigan et al., 'Liturgy as Social Performance', 709. See also Symes, *Common Stage*, 159–74, and Gittos in Chapter 1 of this book.

need to know how the liturgy *worked*: how it intersected with spiritual, political, economic, social and cultural exchanges – and helped to enact them. If we do not understand medieval liturgy, it is hard to imagine how we can understand any aspect of the Middle Ages.